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The Symbolic Bird in Medieval and Renaissance Art*

by

Jacques Schnier

ARTISTS have long commented on the similarity between works of art and dreams. But not until the exploration of the unconscious with the aid of psychoanalysis was the reason for this similarity uncovered and understood. We now know that both these mental constructions consist of combinations of symbols the purpose of which is to express unconscious ideas. And with both works of art and dreams the latent meaning cannot be understood until the symbols have been translated back into their unconscious counterparts.

But, there are differences, as well, between works of art and dreams. Whereas in dreams there is usually a marked lack of coherence in the continuity, action and arrangement of the symbols, in recognized works of art, whether painting, sculpture or literature, action and symbols are knitted together with aesthetic exactitude resulting in an exquisite composition of an apparently impersonal nature and characterized by harmonious, appealing design. Another difference between works of art and dreams comes from the nature of symbols of which they consist. In a dream, many symbols may be highly personal and private—therefore, not readily understood by an observer. The fact that they are personal and intimate may, at times, even cause them to repel the dreamer or a confidant

*Amplified from a paper read before San Francisco Psychoanalytic Education Society, August 12, 1950

uninitiated in the science of the unconscious. With art, however, especially art that is part of a culture complex such as the religious sculpture of the Hindu and medieval European periods, or the church and secular paintings of the Renaissance, the majority of the symbols are highly impersonal, common to the culture as a whole, and are therefore more readily understood by an observer's unconscious.

An illustration of such an art symbol is the *bird* which appears in the art of widely separated cultures but with special frequency in Medieval and Gothic sculpture and Renaissance painting. An examination of the context in which this symbol appears and a study of the rationalized meanings and explanations assigned to it by various cultures helps us to understand its unconscious contents and to verify its meanings as uncovered in other instances in actual psychoanalytic practice. Such an examination also discloses some of the unconscious mental mechanisms operative in the use of this particular symbol.

The bird as a symbol was first brought to my attention by an analyzand who recalled a drawing he had made a number of years previously showing a man astride a horse and holding a bird in one hand. Although untrained as an artist he had resorted to art, more or less in an amateurish way, as means of divertisement during a period of mental depression. This depression was varied and at times was so pronounced as to cause his thinking to turn to thoughts of suicide. A rancher by profession, he had spent a good deal of his time with his cowhand employees and a partner, in the out-of-doors, herding cattle or supervising other work in connection with his holdings. His partner, a man of considerably more experience and knack at handling cattle, was his idol. He displayed excessive admiration for him and referred to him constantly in his conversation. But a developing friendship between his partner and the owner of an adjoining ranch stirred up a disagreement which eventually culminated in a dissolution of the partnership.

It was this dissolution of the partnership which brought

about the analyzand's depression and occasioned his making the drawing in question. The bird in the rider's hand held such a firm grip in his imagination that, later in analysis, he exerted a great deal of effort to uncover its meaning. The rider he easily identified with himself. His associations to bird led to thoughts of his partner, then to his brother upon whom he was showering kisses and affection. Then by way of innumerable additional associations, he was led beyond his brother to the image of his mother and to thoughts of suckling at her breast. The bird, therefore, in this particular drawing, was a symbol for a child-mother relationship.

That the bird is a common symbol in art becomes clearly evident upon an examination of Medieval and Renaissance painting and sculpture. In Europe, especially France, early in the fourteenth century, carved figures of the Madonna and Child with a small bird (plate 1) were produced in great numbers. (1) The design motif was also used extensively in other art materials such as embroidery, ivory, and colored glass. The production of these icons in great numbers was rather sudden but may well have sprung from earlier figures of a similar nature. The use of a small bird in the hands of the Christ Child may easily be traced back at least to the seventh decade of the thirteenth century when it began to appear in French sculpture and in Italian painting. By the end of the century it had emerged as a vigorous artistic trend and spread with great rapidity throughout the art producing countries of Europe. (2,p.3)

As a result of his extensive investigation of this motif Friedmann, an art historian, is led to the conclusion that in the great number of religious paintings produced in Europe between the latter part of the Middle Ages and the late Baroque, probably few accessory symbols occur with greater frequency than the figure of the bird. But unlike the birds appearing in the earlier medieval statues, the species in the paintings is definitely identifiable and of the literally hundreds of compositions in which a bird appears, approxi-

mately seventy-five to eighty percent is of one kind, the goldfinch. (2,p.1) Friedmann lists almost five hundred known religious paintings from early to late Renaissance containing a goldfinch and states this list could easily be extended, probably doubled, if one cared merely to amass more cases. If all Renaissance works of art in which a bird of other species appears were to be included, this list would be multiplied many times.

The devotional pictures in which the goldfinch occurs are either simple two-figured groups of the Madonna and Child with or without attendants or members of the Holy Family; or special three-figured groups of the Madonna, Child and Infant St. John. Other types of compositions containing the goldfinch are Nativities, Adoration of the Shepherds or the Magi, Mystic Marriages, Coronation of St. Catherine, or Rest on the Flight into Egypt. The use of the goldfinch in a child's hand was not limited, however, to religious paintings. A number of secular children's portraits have come down to us in which the child is playing with such a bird. Examples to mention but a few are Bonzino's portrait of Don Garcia de' Medici (Uffizi Gallery, Florence) (2,pl.1), Titian's group portrait of the children of King Ferdinand I in the Lord Desborough collection, England, Van Dyke's "Child with Bird" in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and Ruben's painting of his two sons in the Liechtenstein Gallery, in Vienna. Alessandro Allori's portrait of a young man, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, is a similar example, but with a greenfinch, another favorite but less frequent pet than the goldfinch. 2,pl.2)

Upon examining the characteristics of the goldfinch itself, we find that it is one of the brightest plumaged of the small, common, widely distributed birds of Europe. Because of its wide distribution it was as well known during the Renaissance to the town dwellers as to the country folk. This coupled with the fact that it became tame quite readily and seemed not to mind familiar handling made it a favorite household pet. But its role in the household was not exactly that of a common

eage bird such as the canary is today. Children were often given a live goldfinch on a long string, and would amuse themselves by letting it fly about holding to the other end of the tether to prevent its escaping. These factors, no doubt, contributed materially to the widespread use of this species of bird, the goldfinch, as a symbol by the people of this particular period. According to Dante one of the objects most longed for by Italian children of his time was a little bird. (3) What was true of Italian children of the great poet's time was true of children of other European countries as well.

In the popular beliefs and legends of the middle ages a bird was looked upon as an augur of supernatural power especially in connection with the curing of disease. The early belief of a bird with miraculous curative powers was so well established in superstition that it almost passed for natural history. This legend can be traced in classical sources to a bird called KARADRIOS (charadrius). In order to cure a patient of illness, the charadrius was brought to the person's bedside. If the bird turned its head away from the patient, he would not recover, but if the bird looked at him, it drew the disease out into itself and the patient would recover. A sixth century Greek writer, Hipponax, expressed the belief that jaundice could be transferred to a yellow plover. To rid the jaundiced patient of illness, it was only necessary for him to look at the plover; as the plover closed its eyes, the illness was supposed to pass over to the bird. The Greeks considered the cure so rapid and effective, that the bird dealers hid this particular bird from their customers until the latter paid, lest they were cured in advance by the bird's glance. (2,p.11)

We know that all popular beliefs and superstitions are only rationalizations in symbolic form which cover deeper ideas. To obtain the true meaning of the bird as a symbol it is necessary to uncover the unconscious thoughts associated with it. A study of the early European works of art in which a bird appears discloses a number of interesting associations which support the interpretations brought out in psycho-analytic practice. In by far the greatest number of these

examples the composition features the Madonna and Child with a bird held in the latter's hand. In some compositions, as for example the "Madonna and Child with a Charadrius" by a follower of Cimabue, in S. Andrea, Mosciano (2,pl.7), the Madonna or an accessory figure offers the bird to the Child. Another arrangement which occurs with some degree of frequency, shows the bird held in the Child's hand with the latter sticking his finger into the bird's mouth, as we see it in Taddeo di Bartolo's "Madonna and Child" in the Fogg Museum of Art (plate 4) and in the 14th century French statue in the Los Angeles County Museum (plate 3). Still other paintings, e.g. Francesco Pesellino's "Madonna and Child with Three Angels" in the Toledo Museum of Art, show the Child holding the bird up to his mouth and kissing it (plate 5).

One of the instances of a Madonna and Child composition in which the bird seldom appears is the "Madonna Lactans" type which shows the Virgin in the act of nursing the Christ Child. This theme is of great antiquity and derives from the catacomb art of the third century A.D. Although used by artists throughout the early period of European art up to the Baroque, it never attained a numerical abundance comparable with that of the ordinary composition of the Madonna and Child. (2,p.48) In a few compositions of the Madonna Lactans type the bird does appear either in the Child's hand or in some other place in the design. Examples of such a compositional arrangement are Leonardo da Vinci's "Madonna Litta" in the Hermitage, Leningrad, (2,pl.71); Antonio Venziano's Madonna and Child in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and a similar theme by Taddeo Di Bartolo in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. However, in the large majority of compositions of this type the bird is entirely absent, and it is this detail that is worthy of special comment.

Representations of the Virgin suckling the Child had a particular significance in the thought and consequently art of the late Middle Ages. It showed a situation wherein the Virgin was most concretely and intimately the Mother of

Christ, thus emphasizing her role as "Marie Mediatrix," the motherly compassionate, intercessor for mankind, before the more impartial, paternal justice of Christ or God the Father. The comparative absence of the bird in compositions of this type is commented upon by Friedmann as follows: "... the goldfinch, aside from being the usual symbol of 'soul' was also a symbol of special favors (fertility, protection from disease, etc.). We may well ask whether, its scarcity in pictures of the "Madonna lactans" type may not be, to some extent, a reflection of the thought that in the presence of the supreme general intercessor, a symbol for special favors was considered superfluous and therefore not inserted as a rule." (2,p.42) For the science of the unconscious, such an explanation seems to indicate some unconscious insight as to the meaning of this compositional arrangement. But on the basis of our knowledge of the wish-fulfilling nature of art and the information obtained from myths, legends, fairy tales and analyzing the following interpretation presents itself: One of the situations which the 'child in man' unconsciously longs to recover is the act of being nursed at the mother's breast, a position which was lost upon being weaned. In accordance with the unconscious mechanisms of symbol formation, the bird, a form commonly experienced by most people, is selected as a representative of the lost and longed for object. Since in the Madonna lactans compositions the child is depicted in actual possession of the lost object, i.e., the mother's breast, it therefore becomes a superfluous gesture, a redundancy, so to speak, to also show the child with the lost object in the form of a bird in its hand.

Folk-lore, which we can consider a form of art just as we do folk-music and folk-dancing, makes frequent use of the bird as a symbol of unconscious ideas. In certain tales the identification of the bird with the milk-giving mother is clearly discernible. An African Negro folktale, which revolves about the theme of the 'Bird that made milk' exists in several variants among the Basuto, Kaffir, Zulu, and Bechuana peoples. In the Basuto version a woman comes into the posses-

sion of a wonderful bird that provides the family with milk. She conceals it carefully in the hut, and every evening it fills as many clay vessels with milk as the family requires. The children discover it, however, play with it, fill themselves with milk, and finally lose it in the forest. They try to recover it but fail. Suddenly a violent storm comes upon them, so violent that the trees are uprooted. But an enormous bird comes and covers the children with its wings so that they are not harmed. When the storm is over the bird carries them off, nurtures them carefully, at the proper time even putting them through their puberty rites, and returns them safe and beautiful to their parents. The joyful villagers then reward the bird with gifts or cattle. (23)

Before seeking further support for the preceding interpretation of the bird as a symbol of motherly attributes, more particularly, the nursing mother, let us turn for a moment to the other accessory objects held either by the Child or the Virgin in the Madonna and Child compositions. Many of these objects are round and ball-like, or are fruit (plate 6), such as apples, bunches of grapes, peaches, figs, etc. — something to be eaten. The innumerable carved Madonna and Child statues of the German Gothic period frequently included one of these accessories instead of a bird. (4) All of these objects either because of their characteristic shape or other attributes may readily be accepted by the unconscious as symbols for the mother's breast. An analyzand with a distressing food phobia became violently ill upon biting into or even touching the skin of an unpeeled peach. His associations to peach, led by way of peaches and cream complexion: pink: white: skin: to the skin of his mother's breast which in phantasy he was biting into whenever he ate a peach. M. A. Sechehaye reports the case of a schizophrenic girl who craved apples because unconsciously apples represented her mother's breasts, or mother's milk. Her craving applied especially to green apples because they were still attached to the tree (i.e., represented mother's milk) whereas ripe apples are detached from the tree and therefore represented boiled milk, cow's milk. (5,p.

49) Referring to this craving, the girl writes in her autobiography: "Mama (the analyst), tried affectionately to calm me but without success. 'Why,' she said, 'don't you take the apples I bring you?' 'I can't do that, Mama,' I answered. And while in my heart I was outraged that Mama too wanted to force me to eat, my eyes fell to her bosom and when she insisted, 'But why don't you want the apples I buy you?' I knew what I was yearning for so desperately and was able to bring out, 'Because the apples you buy are food for grown-ups and I want real apples, Mama's apples, like those,' and I pointed to Mama's breasts. She got up at once, went to get a magnificent apple, cut a piece and gave it to me, saying, 'Now, Mama is going to feed her little Renee. It is time to drink the good milk from Mama's apples.' She put the piece in my mouth, and with my eyes closed, my head against her breast, I ate, or rather drank, my milk." (6,p.78)

The ball with the small cross attached on the top of it, held in the Child's hand is another accessory frequently used in Madonna and Child statues of the Gothic period. (1,fig.67) The Catholic Church interprets this accessory object as the world and explains its symbolism as meaning that: Christ will go to the cross for the sins of the world and by so doing will redeem humanity and make it triumphant. From our understanding of the personal fantasy factor in all art, we, however, are more inclined to see less altruistic significance in this symbol and to interpret it as a matter of wish-fulfilment — the round, ball-like world as a symbol of the breast and its important appendage, the cross, as the nipple.

When we consider the roundness and softness of birds in general and domesticated fowl (ducks, geese, hens, pigeons, etc.) in particular, we gain further insight as to why they are selected by the unconscious to serve in the category of symbols for the pregenital emotion associated with the mother's breast. In the course of further associations, the analyzand referred to earlier (who made the drawing of a rider with bird), recalled his first hunting experience, at the age of 10, when he killed a bird. Overcome with remorse,

he decided to preserve it, to accomplish which he took up the intensive study of taxidermy by means of books he obtained from the public library. Behind this thin veil, of course, was the desire to restore the destroyed object and to permanently possess it. He recalled that in this activity of preserving the bird, the shape of the breast dwarfed all other features into insignificance. For him it was the full, rounded, soft breast which constituted the essence of the bird.

Wormhoudt has observed that, "... compared to most animals, birds are not easy to distinguish sexually — differences in color being negligible for the child in this respect . . . They come and go with inexplicable suddenness . . ." and for the child a similar appearance and disappearance of the breast in accordance with the coming and going of the mother during her daily routine is characteristic of being nursed. (7,p.13) The comparison of the sudden appearance and disappearance of birds with the typical coming and going of the mother also suggests an explanation for the popularity among children of the Renaissance of a live bird on a string as a toy. An example of the use of this motif in art is the "Madonna and Child" from the studio of Cosimo Tura (John G. Johnson Art collection, Philadelphia). (2,pl.126) The use of a tethered bird as a toy was not, of course, limited to the Renaissance period alone. Even today in many towns and cities of China a common street sight is the bird vendor, surrounded by a circle of admiring children, as well as grown-ups, intently viewing his display of tethered birds. If the bird symbolizes the mother, the string to which it is tethered assured the child of control over her return. This interpretation is supported by an observation reported by Freud. It refers to a child who had a wooden reel with a piece of string wound round it which he kept throwing with considerable skill into his little draped cot all the while holding on the end of the string. As the reel disappeared into the cot he uttered a significant 'o-o-o-oh' (which apparently meant 'go-away') and then drew the "maternal" reel out of the cot again greeting its reappearance with a joyful 'Da' (there).

(8, p.12) A balloon had the same connotation for the 24-year-old schizophrenic girl reported by M. A. Sechehaye. Upon being given the toy, the girl immediately treated it as "an emblem of the maternal breast, which was offered to her not as a necessity but as a pleasure (what one receives when not hungry)". The balloon had a string attached to it, and the girl could pull it toward her as the fancy came. In addition to the balloon, she was given a ball with a rubber string, and on the ball she wrote the word: "Mother." (5, p.76)

One of the most common explanations for the bird held in the Christ Child's hand is that of the Soul, or of the spiritual as opposed to the earthly nature. This belief that the soul is winged and in the form of a bird is common to many cultures. Amongst the Bella Coola of British Columbia the soul is considered to dwell in the nape of the neck and to resemble a bird enclosed in an egg. If the shell breaks and the soul flies away, the man dies. If the man swoons or becomes crazed it's because his soul has flown away without breaking the shell. A shaman can hear the buzzing of wings as the soul flits by and he may catch it and replace it in the owner's neck. (9, p.33) The soul, being thought of as loftier, more aspiring than the body, was also connected with the idea of being winged and so came to be pictorialized in the form of a bird or at least in a form approximating that of a bird. Several religious similies are also based, at least in part, on similar associations. In this connection Jones points out that, "the upward flight of the bird was used to represent the aspiration of a soaring soul, and in the Roman catacombs the idea of such souls being released from sin is depicted by birds escaping from their cages and flying upwards. In the same way the idea of a bird's flight came to represent that of resurrection, i.e. of arising again." (10, p.327) The native Boros of Brazil (9, p.33) as well as the ancient Egyptians and Greeks conceived the human soul as having the shape of a bird which flew out of the body at death. In the prize winning contemporary Mexican film, "Los Olvidados," (The Forgotten Ones), one of the main characters, a 'dead-

end' kid, is killed by a fellow gangster in a barn. The scene showing the moment of his death is portrayed by a white chicken stepping off his chest. According to Wormhoudt all these concepts pertaining to the flight of the soul probably stem from the "feeling of abandonment and desolation which the child feels when abandoned by the breast." (7,p.147) It was an early Christian belief that the soul leaves the body at death by way of the mouth.

One of the first psychoanalytic studies to direct our attention to the symbolism of the bird is Freud's *Leonardo da Vinci*. In this study, a considerable portion of the analysis of this famous Renaissance genius is based on the interpretation of a childhood memory concerning a bird. Leonardo recorded this memory in a scientific communication dealing with the flight of the vulture. "It seems that it had been destined before that I should occupy myself so thoroughly with the vulture, for it comes to my mind as a very early memory, when I was still in the cradle, a vulture came down to me, opened my mouth with his tail and struck me many times with his tail against my lips." (11,p.52) Freud points out that the scene of the vulture is completely improbable and therefore could not be a memory but was a fantasy which the artist formed later and transferred to his childhood. When this fantasy is examined psychoanalytically we "understand why Leonardo displaced the memory of the supposed experience with the vulture to the nursing period. This fantasy conceals nothing more or less than a reminiscence of nursing — or being nursed — at the mother's breast, a scene both human and beautiful, which he as well as other artists undertook to depict with the brush in the form of the mother of God and her Child." (11,p.57)

In this interpretation of Leonardo's fantasy we find that the mother is identified with a vulture. Freud proposes the question how does this particular bird come to be used as a symbol of the mother, and then proceeds to attempt an answer based on historical sources. In the sacred hieroglyphics of the old Egyptians, the mother is depicted by a

picture of a vulture. "These Egyptians also worshipped a motherly deity, whose head was vulturelike or who had many heads of which at least one or two were that of a vulture. The name of this goddess was pronounced MUT and we may question whether the sound similarity to our word mother (German - Mutter) is only accidental." (11,p.58) There are also many other associations in early cultures between bird and mother. In classical mythology, love and mother goddesses such as Ishtar (deity of war and fertility), Aphrodite, and Diana (huntress and guardian of child-birth) were often portrayed with prominent breasts and "have their totem in the form of a bird — usually a dove." (7,p.147)

Leonardo's phantasy is somewhat paralleled by the dream of a young shepherd related by the Welsh poet Vaughan, in a letter written in 1694; the main difference being that in the latter case, the bird, a hawk, actually entered the dreamer's mouth. "I was told by a very sober and knowing person (now dead) that in his time, there was a young lad father and motherless, and soe very poor that he was forced to beg; butt att last was taken up by a rich man, that kept a great stock of sheep upon the mountains not far from the place where I now dwell, who cloathed him and sent him into the mountains to keep his sheep. There in Summer time following the sheep and looking to their lambs he fell into a deep sleep; in which he dreamt, that he saw a beautiful young man with a garland of green leafs upon his head, and an hawk upon his fist; with a quiver full of Arrows att his back, coming towards him (whistling several measures or tunes all the way) and att last lett the hawk fly att him, which (he dreamt) gott into his mouth and inward parts, and suddenly awaked in a great fear and consternation: but possessed with such a vein, or gift of poetrie, that he left the sheep and went about the country, making songs upon all occasions, and came to be the most famous Bard in all the countrey in his time." (10, p.338)

Instances of the use of the bird as a female symbol in literature are legion. Both Beres (12,p.111) and Wormhoudt

(7,p.32) in their psychoanalytic studies of Coleridge's "*The Ancient Mariner*" refer to the albatross as a symbol of the mother. Wormhoudt states that in his wanderings there finally appears to the Ancient Mariner, the "chief breast symbol, the albatross (a bird, but not a songbird and thus one that denies sound-milk), . . . and the mariner, like the expectant infant, places all his hopes in it." According to Beres, Coleridge's choice of the albatross symbol was determined by his deep conflict with his mother against whom he harbored unconscious infantile hatred, murderous wishes, and sexual phantasies. "He was aware of a profound sense of guilt from his early youth . . . In the *Ancient Mariner* he indicates the source of his guilt. It is his aggressive, murderous impulses against an object associated with food and protection. His life story conforms the oral basis of his guilt. There is the preoccupation with food, the never-satisfied searching for love, the attempt to find peace by turning to opium".

A child's story which shows the close relationship between bird and food was related to me by an eight-year-old boy. His story, which he titled "*The Sparrows and the Witch*," is as follows: "There was once upon a time a little sparrow. Unlike other birds this little sparrow had a magic spell to turn any enemy of his or the other sparrows into a piece of cheese, no, I mean bird-grain. Then they would eat the enemy cause he was a piece of bird-grain. One day a nasty old witch came. She threw a net over the birds and what do you think happened? She turned into a mouse, into a lion, into an ogre, into a tiger — no, I mean into a horse. Then they got a free ride just for nothing. Then she turned into a witch again and she had another plan. What do you think her plan was? She put out a piece of cheese — no, I mean bird-seed; then the sparrows came and were eating the piece of cheese — no, bird-seed. Then the witch thought that she would have a nice sparrow souffle for dinner. Then when they got all nice and fat from eating the bird-seed she set up a mouse trap, a special kind of one. She put out some more

bird-seed right by some bushes. Then she set a bird-trap, — the kind that you use bird-lime with. So the sparrows came for the bird-seed as usual. So all the birds got caught in the bird-lime. Then the old witch took them home in a basket. But as you know the sparrow had the power to turn any of his or his friends' enemies into a mouse. Well just as she was going to cook the sparrow soufflé — just before she put the birds into it, he turned the witch into a piece of bird-grain and ate it and that is the end of the story." In this phantasy the child has reversed roles; through the process of identification he has become the sparrow himself like the bird in those Madonna and Child compositions into whose mouth the Christ Child inserts his finger. The witch (mother symbol) is equated, among other things, to a piece of cheese (substance closely related to milk) and a bird-grain.

Another illustration of the use of bird symbols by an eight-year-old boy was reported to me by Agnes Cummings. This boy, when drawing or doodling, almost always confined himself to bird forms. These forms, which were without much elaboration or individualization had captions which referred to the subject as "King Bird". Despite the title, the birds seemed to have a uniformly feminine character. Although the child himself volunteered no association as to the identity of his birds, Mrs. Cummings, on the basis of her knowledge of the boy's mother, who was compulsively over-protective, ventured the following interpretation: "It would seem that this child saw his mother as just such a constantly hovering bird, a bird as large as the world, controlling not only him, but everyone about him too, and from the shadow of whose wings he could never escape. Moreover, this powerful female creature was phallic at the same time, and was referred to as king rather than queen." (24)

One of the concepts of the Christian religion is the Trinity: Father, Son and the Holy Ghost. For almost six hundred years artists portrayed the Trinity by certain attributes rather than by anthropomorphic figures; God the Father by a hand, The Son by a cross, and The Holy Ghost by a dove

or a book. According to St. Luke, "The Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a Dove upon Him." (13) A study of Christian art discloses that the dove is the most frequently used bird form of this religion. Hulme states that "Doves of carved wood are frequently found on font covers in our Old English parish churches, and probably in former days no font would have been considered duly complete without such a symbol of the sacramental rite, of the presence of the Holy Spirit in it . . . The three scenes (aside from the Holy Trinity itself) in which the figure most freely occurs are representations of the baptism of Christ, the annunciation of the Virgin, and the Creation of the World." (14,p.184) In representations of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Dove often hovers between the Father and Son and sometimes the tip of each wing seems to touch the mouth of each. The color generally used in representing the Bird is the purest and most dazzling white. The beak and claws are mostly red, but sometimes are painted golden. The nimbus or halo surrounding it is of a golden yellow or gold to represent rays of light. When the Dove is made of metal, it is either of gold, silver or copper covered with the most brilliant enamel and set with precious stones.

There is much evidence to support the idea that even the bird of various species appearing in the Madonna and Child compositions, either in the Child's hand, on a tether or elsewhere is interchangeable with the Holy Dove. Significant in this respect is the fact that in many of the earliest devotional paintings in which the Christ Child holds or reaches for a bird, the latter is pure white, the usual color for representing the Holy Dove. For example, the thirteenth century Florentine painting by a follower of Cimabue in the Parish Church at Mosciano, shows a fairly sizable whitish bird, large enough to be a dove, but without a nimbus, in the Virgin's left hand, towards which the Infant Savior stretches out His hands. (2,pl.7) In other instances the white bird is clearly identifiable as a dove. Friedmann lists the following examples of the use of a white dove in the Madonna and Child composi-

tions: a painting by Piero di Cosimo, in the Louvre, Paris; a picture including St. Catherine and Michael Spavanti by Paolo Veronese (S. Sebastien, Venice) in which St. Catherine offers the Christ Child a white dove; and two paintings of "The Holy Family with a Dove," one by Rubens (W. H. Moore Collection, New York) and the other by Fragonard. Regarding this type of composition, a Russian writer Kondakov writes: "Purely Russian icons of this theme show a white goldfinch or some sort of white bird instead of a finch, and there follows the interpretation that it is a white dove, and a halo around it marks it as the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. .'" (2,p.116)

Although the meaning of the Holy Ghost (Holy Dove) has been rationalized by religious writers for almost two thousand years, its identity remains the most enigmatical of the three persons for those unacquainted with the unconscious meaning of symbols. As one author on Christian Symbolism admitted, "Our ideas in representing this incomprehensible mystery are necessarily so imperfect that there is very little choice to be made as to which is the least inadequate." (15,p.44) One of the earliest psychoanalytic attempts to interpret the meaning of the Holy Dove is contained in Jones' richly documented investigation of "The Madonna's Conception Through the Ear." In this investigation Jones is preoccupied with substantiating his interpretation of the Holy Dove as the phallus impregnating the Virgin with its Holy breath. But notwithstanding his chief concern with a single interpretation of this symbol, Jones does comment on the opposite attributes of the Dove and states, "(the) peculiar tenderness in the love making of doves is to be correlated with a feature in the associations surrounding the idea of them on which I have only lightly touched — namely, femininity. It would lead too far to enumerate instances of this association, but it is a curiously extensive one, so that one is forced to say that of all phallic emblems the dove is one of the most gentle and effeminate." (10,p.341) Now in addition to the above observations (suggestive of the feminine nature

of the dove symbol) there are numerous associations in religious writings and art which justify a psychoanalytic interpretation of the Holy Dove, for these specific contexts, as another symbol of the mother. For example: the typical description of a conversion to Christianity is, "reborn of the Holy Ghost." And Jones has noted in his study of the Holy Ghost, "Not only must the Mother logically constitute the third member of any Trinity whose two other members are Father and Son, not only is this so in all the numerous Trinities known to us, but there is a considerable amount of direct evidence indicating that this was originally so in the Christian myth itself. . . . The original Mother, who was accepted by for instance the Ophitic sect as the third member of the Trinity would appear to have been of mixed Babylonian and Egyptian origin, although there are not wanting indications to show that a misty Mother-figure floated in the background of Hebrew theology also. Thus the passage in Genesis (i. 2) 'And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' should properly run 'The Mother of the Gods brooded (or fluttered) over the abyss and brought forth life,' a bird-like conception of the Mother which must remind us not only of the Holy Dove (i.e. the Holy Spirit that replaces the Mother), but also of the legend that Isis conceived Horus while fluttering in the shape of a hawk over the dead body of Osiris." (10,p.417) In support of the female significance of the Holy Dove Roheim points out that "in the Semitic world the idea of the dove is associated with the belief in Ishtar or similar mother-goddesses representing love both in its tender and in its unbridled, incestuous aspect. Ishtar is the virgin mother and also the prostitute. . . . The inhabitants of the harem, i.e. the virgins consecrated to the Ishtar cult, are referred to as 'birds(*hu*), a euphemistic expression for prostitutes, or more especially as 'doves'(*tu hu*) and their habitations are dove-cots" (25,p.161)

In addition to its soft round form there are other factors that contribute, no doubt, to the use of the dove to unconsciously symbolize the mother. An important feature relating

to doves is the tenderness they display in their mating-relations, and as Jones observes, "This tenderness manifests itself in a very prominent characteristic of doves — namely, the soft, delightful cooing that plays a leading part in their love-making." (10,p.341) The child, of course, first experiences sounds comparable to the 'cooing of turtle-doves' in his relationship to his mother. In other instances, pleasing sounds are associated with the act of suckling itself so that in the unconscious, sounds in the form of words, poetry or music might easily be equated to suckling activities as well as to the pleasure-giving milk. Ella Sharpe reports the analysis of a singer who in associating to her own voice says, "The voice pours out like water, like cream. . . You are a bird flying up in your voice. It draws people to you. They feel as you feel, sad or gay. The Pied Piper drew children from their homes with music. Orpheus drew stocks and stones. The Sirens (bird-like numphs) drew men to destruction." (16) Freddy, the author of the "Sparrows and the Witch" story, upon hearing milk being poured into a glass, commented, "Just hearing it, looks good." When asked why he thought the milk looks good, he explained that what he meant to say was, "Just hearing it, tastes good," i. e., it sounds as good as it tastes. These associations disclose an interesting and significant aural-scoptiphilia-oral relationship in the unconscious mind, and support the interpretation of the bird as the mother also on the bases of the associations: bird: song: sound: suckling relationship.

Little Freddy's associations of milk (breast) with sounds recalls Wormhoudt's comments, in his study of *The Unconscious Bird Symbol in Literature*, that, ". . . the most interesting connections between bird and breast in antiquity are those which associated winged creatures with the poets' power to produce words. . . The description of the Muses, for example, included the fact that they were winged (and female). These mother symbols . . . were the tutelary deities of springs from which they gave the poets the inspiring draft which resulted in poetry." (17,p.175) Birds were also, accord-

ing to Wormhoudt " . . . the most frequent symbols for the breast in Romantic literature. Their importance for poets, he attributes to the "fact that birds are among the few species of animals which express their emotions in compulsive song—a valuable detail in the unconscious symbolization of the identification words-milk." (7,p.13)

The relationship of words (sounds) with birds is also found in Renaissance painting. In a number of compositions of this period a bird, most frequently a goldfinch, is found near or directly in contact with a small scroll or piece of paper on which a variety of legends is inscribed. Friedmann states, "The fact that there is no basic similarity in the wordings on these scrolls indicates that it is not the message that is compositionally or symbolically related to the bird, but the scroll itself." (2,p.118) But the association of scroll with words is practically inseparable even on a conscious level, thus it would appear that what is unconsciously implied in this accessory, in its connection with the bird, is the word: sound: suckling relationship, with bird: song: sound; suckling: breast, or, in other words, that these two symbols, in these instances, are identical. The fact that "the goldfinch is, to some extent a substitute object for the little scroll or scroll box usually held by the Christ Child in early pictures done under Byzantine influence" (2,p.118) clearly supports the interpretation of the scroll as the mother. In an early Pisan picture by Turino Vanni the Second (Louvre, Paris) (2,pl. 133) both the scroll and the bird are held in the Christ Child's hand. In Zaganelli's "Virgin Adoring the Child" (Metropolitan Museum of Art) the goldfinch actually holds a scroll in its bill (plate 7). Even the arrangement of the Child with a goldfinch in his left hand and a scroll in his right has been used by some artists as is seen in Lippo Memmi's "Madonna and Child" (Servite Church, Siena) and Niccolo da Voltri's "Madonna and Child" in Genoa (Sta. Maria delle Vigne). (2,p.119)

The book, another object related to words and sounds is also used as an accessory in many Madonna and Child paint-

ings, either by itself or in conjunction with a bird. In Juan de Juanes, "Madonna Enthroned With Saints" (Johnson Art Collection, Baltimore) the child holds a goldfinch in one hand, while the other hand rests upon an open book (plate 8). Piero Di Cosimo, in his version of "Madonna Adoring Child" (Toledo Museum of Art) placed a bird on the left side of the sleeping Christ Child and an open book on its right side, from which the Madonna apparently reads with great emotion. (2,pl.11) The interchangeableness of bird and book is vividly portrayed in Raphael's series of drawings for his "Madonna del Cardellino" (Uffizi Gallery, Florence). (2,pl.117) The studies for this picture, painted as a wedding gift from the artist to his friend Lorenzo Nazi, have been preserved, and Muntz writes of them as follows: "There is no trace of effort in this picture and yet the artist must have bestowed much thought upon the grouping, which seems so elegant and so unstudied. Four drawings . . . preserved at Oxford and at Vienna, and another in the Wicar collection, not to mention those which have been lost show us the phases through which the composition passed before reaching its pictorial stage. In the first study (Albertina, Vienna) the Virgin in a sitting position, is intent upon a book she has in her right hand, while her left is carelessly rested upon the body of her Child, who is standing up and trying to reach the book as if to divert her attention. The infant St. John is wanting, but in the second study (Oxford) the artist takes a step forward, as there are three figures in the composition. But the main idea of the scene is different again, for the Virgin is reading a book, both the divine infant and St. John listening attentively . . . In the interval Raphael made up his mind to work into this scene a motive which he had treated before; that of St. John presenting to his companion the bird he has just caught. Each of the succeeding designs mark a further advance, viz. the substitution of the goldfinch for the book, which is transferred to the Virgin's left hand . . ." (18) These associations of the book and bird recall the fact that a book as well as a dove are common symbols for the Holy Ghost in early Christian

art; they also suggest the following set of additional associations:

Scroll: words: sounds:)	
)	
book: words: sounds:)	
)	suckling at mother's
bird: song: sounds:)	breast.
)	
bird: roundness: breast:)	
)	
bird: flying hither and yon:)	
coming and going of mother:)	

References have already been made to the ancient belief in the efficacy of birds for the curing of physical diseases. We now know that many of these diseases like goiter, gastric ulcer, ties, certain forms of hypertension, headaches and neuralgia, etc., (just to mention a few), the etiology of which in the past was unknown, have a definite origin in the emotional life of the individual concerned. Of these diseases, a large percentage, no doubt, are due to the unconscious strands of a child-mother relationship. Now it is the mother who most frequently comforts and consoles the sick child and in many cases it is the comfort resulting from suckling alone that brings about the cure (perhaps milk was the first great medicine of mankind). It is conceivable, therefore, that the Charadrius of prechristian and medieval times was primarily a female symbol which in phantasy represented a re-establishment with the nursing mother of childhood days. In addition to the death episode in 'Los Olvidados' mentioned above, a bird also appears in a sick-room scene where a blind old man attempts to cure a sick woman by passing a white dove over her body.

In early and medieval Christian art the eagle as well as the dove was a symbol of the Holy Ghost, the eagle being so used chiefly with characters from the Old Testament. In Hebrew it was a symbol of the spirit. If the Holy Ghost, according to our interpretation, represents the mother, the use

of such an aggressive and predatory bird as the eagle for her symbol calls for psychoanalytic explanation. Such an explanation can be found in our knowledge of the child's tendency to project its own aggressive and destructive wishes caused by weaning, on to its mother and then to conceive of her as being cruel, sadistic and providing milk that was poisonous. In such situations she may be symbolized as some ferocious, man-devouring animal, as for example a female dragon as I have reported in an earlier communication (19), a female (grandmother) wolf as in "Little Red Riding Hood," or an eagle. A trait commonly attributed to eagles is that of carrying off children in their talons and then devouring them. The interpretation of the eagle as a symbol of the mother might help to explain the symbolism of the falcon, another bird that frequently appears in Renaissance art, especially in portraits of noblemen. These birds were trained to capture non-aggressive game such as grouse, pheasants, quail and ducks while in flight. Their training was based almost entirely on a careful feeding technique. Although falconry was an established method of hunting of the period, the interest in this method might well be interpreted symbolically just as was the tame goldfinch on a tether used as a toy by children of the same period. An example of a composition including a falcon is Hans Holbein's famous portrait of Robert Cheshman, member of the court of Henry VIII. Titian also featured a falcon in his portrait of Georgio Cornaro (known as "The Man with the Falcon"). (20) It is highly significant that in the Titian painting one hand of the subject supports the falcon while the other cups or feels the bird's breast. In the Holbein painting, one hand of the nobleman also supplies a perch for the falcon while the other hand reaches out apparently in the act of stroking, feeling or holding the breast of the bird.

Another instance of an aggressive bird-like creature in a female role is the Harpy. In classical myths, these fabulous creatures are represented as having a woman's head and upper body, and a bird's wings, tail, legs and claws. The Harpies

are usually malign creatures who snatch up and carry off the souls of the dead or execute divine vengeance by seizing or defiling the food of their victim. In the monument of the Harpies from the tomb of Xanthos in Lycie (now in the British Museum), there is depicted a flying Harpy with a child in the suckling position in her arms and with her talons clutching onto the child's lower limbs. (21) In this connection it is interesting to note that the word harpy comes from a Greek root meaning — to snatch, to seize.

In a dream of a young man, an analyzand of Mrs. Cummings, some birds played a rather aggressive part. In relating the dream he described how these birds darted at his face and swooped on him, 'just the way they do when you are walking down the street in reality'. He insisted it had happened to him many times, was in fact a very familiar occurrence, but was unable to recall any single time or identify any incidental action or circumstance. In the end he concluded that there was, indeed, something familiar about the idea, but that it was not the event itself. Later material confirmed the impression that the birds in the dream represented the infantile image of the phallic mother endowed with the young man's own unconscious aggressive impulses which he had projected upon her as a child. It was significant that the young man had the dream several months after the beginning of treatment while still filled with deep sympathy for his poor mother whom he was fond of declaring would not hurt a fly. (24)

In some languages the bird is associated with the sexual act or with the male organ. Freud brought attention to the fact that the Italians call the penis '*l'ucello*' which is their word for bird; that in Germany the sexual act is popularly designated by the verb 'to bird' (*vögeln*); and that the ancients sometimes depicted the phallus with wings. He explained the use of the bird as a phallic symbol on the basis of the wish to fly. This wish to fly which is so common in dreams signifies the longing for sexual accomplishment. Jones (10,p.321) cites many examples from religion, anthropology,

folk-lore and fairy-tales supporting the interpretation of the bird as a phallic symbol in certain contexts.

But there are strong unconscious ties between penis, bird and breast. In certain situations the penis is actually a symbol of the maternal nipple. Freddy, whose associations of sounds with milk have been referred to above, was leaning against his mother's breast one day when he was 5½ years old. "Can you feel with your breast, mummy" he asked, and upon receiving the answer, "Yes", he added. "It stands up straight like a winkee. Right up straight!" The identification of nipple with penis stems not only from the similarity in shape but may also originate in children's observations of the nursing processes of certain four legged animals, e.g. the cow. When the child observes the udder or teat of a cow, which in function is a breast nipple, but which in shape and position on the abdomen resembles a penis, the identification of penis with nipple receives additional reinforcement (Freud). According to Wormhoudt, "It seems probable that the child first symbolizes the penis with the bird and then transfers this symbol to the unconscious breast image. At the time of the child's earliest experience with the breast it is not likely to have much experience with birds. This only comes later, as does his experience of the erectile power of the penis." (17,p.173) A dream of an analyzand in which the bird was employed both as a symbol of the penis and the breast (something to eat) is reported by Henry Allen Bunker. The analyzand was "riding as a passenger in what used to be called the tonneau of an automobile, when a dickeybird flew in the rear window. It began to sing in two parts. Its name was Amelia.' The dreamer's association to 'Dickeybird' were 'dickey, dick' after which he added the question, 'Isn't that a slang word for penis?' In associating to the sentence — 'It then began to sing in two parts', the analyzand, who was a musicologist, said, 'an impossibility of course — you can't sing in two parts any more than you can play a chord on a flute,' and added 'being both masculine and feminine at the same time. I'd

love to be able to do it; but we have a lot of collateral evidence also that 'two' may refer to the breasts.' To the dickey-bird's name 'Amaleia' his instant association was 'A meal,' to which he added 'The bird comes in and its a meal' ". (22)

A point has now been reached in this study of the bird symbol where we can attempt the interpretation of an additional feature to be found in certain Madonna and Child compositions of the Renaissance. In these compositions the Child is being offered a bird, not by his mother, but by a male figure. Examples of paintings in which this feature occurs are: "Madonna and Child" by Francisco de Zurbaran (Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, Calif.), in which St. John offers the Child a bird (2,pl.21); a similar theme by Raphael (Uffizi Gallery, Florence) (2,pl.117); and a painting of the School of Cimabue (Sterbini Collection, Rome) in which an old man holds a bird up to the Child (2,pl.34). It is interesting to note that in another painting by Raphael, "The Virgin in the Meadow" (Hofmuseum, Vienna), St. John offers the Child a long thin cross-like staff. In these paintings it is conceivable that the bird plays a double role as symbol of the nipple: first as a representation of the maternal breast and secondly, by way of being a symbol of the male organ. This double role of the bird symbol was clearly revealed in the analysis of the bird in the drawing by the analyzand referred to earlier. Associating to his brother (of whom he was reminded by the bird) and upon whom he was showering kisses and affection, his thoughts led to performing fellatio on him. This information he took without offence or strong denial but felt that there was something behind the thought that was more deeply repressed. Eventually his associations which had started with 'bird' led him to think of his mother and then of nursing at her breast. But this discovery also disclosed to him how many of the strong male friendships he was inclined to make were motivated by the strong unconscious desire to recover the blissful days of his childhood. In male acquaintances of a certain type he unconsciously saw his brother who had replaced him in his mother's lap, and who,

in fantasy, still possessed the longed for object now symbolized by the male organ.

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Courtesy of Bayerische Museum, Munich

Plate 1. MADONNA AND CHILD, Regensburg, 1360



Courtesy of Hearst Collection, Los Angeles County Museum

Plate 2. MADONNA AND CHILD, Upper Rhenish, 1480



Courtesy of Hearst Collection, Los Angeles County Museum

Plate 3. MADONNA AND CHILD, French 14th Cent.



Courtesy of Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University

Plate 4. TADDEO DI BARTOLO:
MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS (Detail)



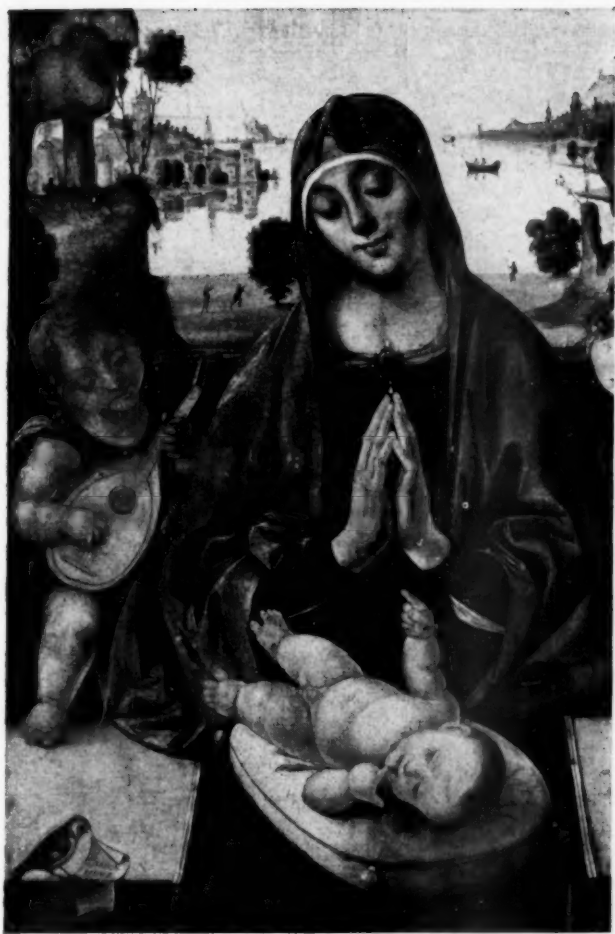
Courtesy of Toledo Museum of Art

Plate 5. FRANCESCO PESSELLINO:
MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN (Detail)



Courtesy of Bayerische Museum, Munich

Plate 6. MADONNA AND CHILD, Inntal, 1433



Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

Plate 7. BERNARDINO ZAGNELLI:
MADONNA ADORING CHILD, WITH CHERUBS (Detail)



Courtesy of John E. Johnson Art Collection, Philadelphia

Plate 8. JUAN de JUANES:
MADONNA ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS (Detail)

Asherah of Ugarit

by

A. Fodor

THE Epoch at which the Divine Mother was worshipped as a supreme deity represents one of the most enticing problems of the history of civilisation as well as of various religious creeds and the birth of myths. It embraces her first appearance in the fantasy of mankind, the circumstances and duration of her rule within diverse groups of man, and finally the period of gradually fading away of her authority owing to her repression by male godheads. Obviously this would lead us to a search for the reasons that brought about her partial or total destitution, and it has scarcely to be mentioned that if the fact and principal motives of such a destitution process would be discussed, much new light could be thrown upon the evolution of the cultic trends of the peoples involved. Moreover, being acquainted with the fact of her repression within a definite cultural zone, it might be possible to infer from certain symptoms encountered in the religious rites of other peoples which had invaded the same zone and come into close contact with its inhabitants that the symptoms were brought about as a consequence of the displacement of the goddess *in that very zone*. This inference may be justified even in case that no concrete proof of a substitution by the male god who was actually swaying the sceptre over the people prior to its invasion could be produced and no previous rule of the Divine Mother over it revealed at all. This is exactly the case with the people of Israel after it invaded canaan.

One of the cultic symptoms we are bearing in mind is

connected with the Passover ritual of Israel as laid down in the Book of the Exodus, some traits of which appear to us a priori as quite unintelligible. In Ex. 12 1-14 a detailed prescription of the preparation of the passover-meal is given (verses 4-6 as well as 8-9) which is followed by verse 10 with the wording: "And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning, ye shall burn with fire"; further verse 11: "And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste; it is the Lord's passover."

It must not be put forward by us more explicitly that the whole prescription arouses the impression of the command to consume the meal in a state of a hurried preparedness for flight, as if the partakers of the passover meal were exposed to an imminent great danger and in any instant a catastrophe might break out over their heads.

We have to ask, accordingly, wherefore this alarm and whence it came from?*

To wit, the passages referred to, had been written down at a rather late time and, as Bible critics unanimously hold, by an author called by them the "Priest". This writer gives an explanation of the above quoted performance of the ritual not merely by such meagre words as "it is the Lord's pass-over", but more explicitly in verses 17 and 27 of the same chapter, in which the ritual is brought into close connection with the exodus of the armies of Israel from the land of Egypt, saying that the Lord "passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians and delivered our homes." This reason, however, does not at all account for the great alarm and anxiety during festival-meal and neither for the prescription of burning the residue of food in the fire, in order to wipe out the last vestiges of the former. Rather, it must be considered as a relatively late and in view of our present knowledge unsatisfactory interpreta-

*See also previous paper on this subject by A. Fodor.: Intern. Journ. Psa. XXVII 1946.

tion of an old rite which has turned unintelligible by the ages, but doubtless was observed for very serious and actual reasons prior to its having become obsolete. The rite itself, however, like most of the rites, being of an extremely stable and persistent character, has been preserved and has acquired a new interpretation according to the events and vicissitudes in the historical life of Israel. It would be indeed utterly difficult to disclose a plausible explanation for the *prescribed* state of mind of the people bound to eat their meal in a great agony, at any moment being ready to flee, if, fortunately, there were not still additional passages in the frame of the same scripture which might possibly indicate the trail we have to follow in order to unveil the secret of that strange "alarm-ritual" mentioned above.

We are referring hereby to Ex 23 19 as well as to the parallel paragraph 34 26 and, further, to Deut 14 21, all of which contain the conformly worded prohibition of cooking the suckling in his mother's milk: "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk". The fact of this prohibition itself may be considered as a sufficient proof for the widespread practice of the rite, otherwise no such prohibition would have been necessary; furthermore, since the latter is no less than three times repeated in the Pentateuch and, moreover, with the same wording, the suspicion arises, that in the eyes of the priests the ritual must have implied a huge danger to the religious life of the Israelites.

The practice of cooking the kid or lamb in the milk of his mother is known to-day as one which decidedly belongs to the cult of the Divine Mother who once upon a time ruled over Mankind down to the age at which male gods had won the ascendancy, and until she gradually became destituted or else degraded to a mere wife or even courtesan of a god, if not banished at all, as was done by certain peoples.

Meanwhile, let us postpone considering the process of repression as well as of its possible motives and, instead, advance the idea that there certainly might have existed a far-reaching connection between the prohibition of such rites

which since times bygone belonged to the prerogatives of the Divine Mother and the behaviour as disclosed in the Israelite Passover ritual, or rather the performance of alarm prescribed therein. For this alarm must once have been utterly genuine, viz. when there existed actual reasons for it and the wrath and vengeance of the Great Mother who found herself betrayed and her ancient rights and privileges gone, really evoked terror and alarm in the hearts of her former worshippers by whom she was discarded. In the course of time, however, in the same degree as the genuine fear was fading away, the original impulse of alarm necessarily decreased too, finally leaving behind a mere ritual which, since its ancient sense had fallen into oblivion, has turned stale and virtually meaningless, thus easily given to reinterpretation with reference to an event that exerted a great and permanent impression upon the people of Israel: The sojourn in and the Exodus from Egypt.

Therefore, the state of alarm as betrayed in the Passover ritual of the Israelites evidently had to be attributed to the once very actual dread from the Divine Mother's vengefulness, imputed to her by her former worshippers or rather by their bad conscience who first repressed and then destituted the once mighty goddess, depriving her of all these prerogatives which she owned as a sovereign godhead of Mankind.

Another fact merits our attention in this context since it furnishes further aid in the discovery of the character of the ill treated and thus offended goddess:

Among the poems discovered at the Phoenician (al. Canaanite) Ugarit (site of Ras Shamra, Syria, first excavated by French archaeologists headed by M. Claude Schaeffer, from 1929), a Liturgy (Poem III) written about 1800-1600 B.C. was found, in lines 23-24 of which the name of the goddess *Asherah* (sometimes also called *Asherat*) appears, who was generally looked at as the giver of prosperity. There is a statement by F. W. Albright (1) about this goddess as well as two other goddesses who played important roles in Ugarith mythology, viz. Anath and Astarte. They are not quite firmly

distinguishable from each other since they all were Mother Goddesses.*

"Anath in the Ugarit myths is generally called the 'Virgin Anath,' employing the word *batultu*, which means 'virgin' (*bethulah* in Hebrew.) Philo Byblius refers to the virginity of Anath (Athene) and Astarte. Sacred prostitution was apparently an almost invariable concomitant of the cult of the Phoenician and Syrian goddess, whatever her personal name. As sacred prostitute the goddess was called the 'Holy One', literally the holiness (*qudshu* of *Asherah*, etc.).' The Egyptian representation of *qudshu*, 'the Holy One', shows her *en face* as a naked woman in the prime of life, standing on a lion, with a lily in one hand and a serpent (or two serpents) in the other." The author adds that the Egyptian representation of Anath is identical with that of the Syrian goddess on clay plaques which appears constantly in all Bronze-age sites of Palestine during the period of 1700-1300 B.C.: "while it is true that these plaques have been influenced artistically by the form of the Hathor wig which was fashionable in Egypt during the Middle Empire (cir. 2000-1800), and which was early transferred to representations of the goddess Hathor, it is now certain that they were originally imitations of the Ishtar plaques of the same type, which were popular in Babylonia between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Since the type in question does not appear in Syria or Palestine until the eighteenth century or a little later, whereas it goes back in Babylonia through successive stages into Sumerian times, there can be no doubt that the iconographic type was borrowed from Mesopotamia. However, the Canaanites lost no time in substituting carnality for the grace of the Babylonian originals. . . . Moreover in Mesopotamia the plaques nearly all obviously represent a

*The same Babylonian ideogram is employed in the Amarna Tablets in order to write the names of Astarte and Asherah and, moreover, in contemporary Egypt Anath and Astarte are fused into one deity "An-tart", in later Syria into "Anath-Ashtart", Arameic "Atharata", in Hellenic scripts: Atagartis.

mother-goddess, whereas in Canaan most of them as clearly portray a sacred courtisan At its worst, the erotic aspect of their cult must have sunk to extremely sordid depth of social degradation.' All three goddesses were principally concerned with sex and war. — "The career of Asherah is even more curious. The goddess is called *Athiratu-yammi* in the Ugarit literature 'She who Walks on the Sea' or perhaps 'She who Walks in the Sea' In the roughly contemporary canonical list of Babylonian deities she is also called the spouse of Anu, who was closely related to Canaanite *El* in function Asherah was uniformly considered as wife of *El* in Ugarit mythology. Since the Canaanites associated *El* most closely with the underground force of living fresh water in the far west or north, it is scarcely surprising that his consort was preeminently a sea-goddess. Asherah was the chief goddess of Tyre in the fifteenth century, with the appellation Qudshu 'holiness'."

We have especially to point out that in poem IIII, published by Virolleaud (2), Asherah is represented *as a goddess who is hostile to her worshippers*, and this even so far that her opposition has to be overcome in order to make her benignant:

"I will summon the gracious gods (against Asherah) of the sea: they shall take vengeance on the exceeding anger of Asherah." Whence derived the inimical behaviour of Asherah? (lines 23-24)

There are different views possible regarding the anger of the goddess as well as the origin of her appellation 'She who Walks on (or in) the Sea', the above-mentioned explanation of Albright being merely one of several interpretations. G. A. Barton, for instance, cherishes the opinion that she was brought to Phoenicia from the West (viz. from overseas) by an alien people inimical to the Semitic inhabitants of that country (as the Ageans or the Hurrians); however, they had been overcome and assimilated by the Semites, and this process involved the final blending of two goddesses, the alien and the indigenous, the emerged divinity bearing the

old Semitic name but possessing "many nautical elements from the West". Furthermore: "The hostility of the western invaders survived the memory of the people, and gave to the Asherat that resulted from the fusion the inimical character attributed to her in these poems". (3)

Although a possibility like this cannot be fully discarded, nevertheless, the element of anger still might have had quite a different reason, i.e. the achieved repression of the goddess from her former elevated position as a sovereign divinity as well as her degradation to a simple consort of a male like *El of Ugarit*. This idea about the origin of Asherah's *mauvaise humeur* is corroborated by lines 13-15 of the same poem, containing directions for the sacrifice in the fields, whereby the main feature is embodied in the words: "Slay a kid in the milk, resting in the curds. . . .". Thus the impression arises that the whole poem comes to us from a rather remote age in which Asherah as Mother goddess, with whose character the sacrifice of the kid in the milk has doubtless to be associated, played the role as a sovereign divinity, whereas now, as is disclosed by lines 37-60 of poem III, she figures as a mere *qudshu* and is only one among many wives or courtesans of El, performing with her companions a common ritual in order to secure human offspring (lines 30-36).

In order to draw the right image of the goddess, let us quote the following words of the excavator of Ugarit (4):

"The all-powerful El, nevertheless, at times deigned to consult his wife, Asherat-of-the Sea. This was apparently a risky undertaking. One day a dispute arose. Here is what the text tells us, according to the suggested translation (by Ch. Virroleaud):

'El shouted: Listen, Lady Asherat-of-the-Sea, give me one of thy sons, and I will set him on the throne.

The Lady Asherat-of-the-Sea answered: No, we will set Ishtar-rf on the throne.'

"This refusal, thrown as a challenge to the god, sounds scandalous. To mitigate its effect Asherat took care to say 'We will set on the throne' Indeed she can count

on the assent of the supreme god, who, in spite of his apparent wrath, will ultimately agree with his wife.

"Doubt has been cast on the shrewish behaviour attributed by this text to Asherat-of-the-Sea; and which might 'give substance to certain theories based on matriarchy.' However that may be, the part of the counsellor of the gods is explicitly allotted to Asherat-of-the-Sea, in our texts, where she is also sometimes called 'mistress* of the gods in wisdom'. This conception of her as counsellor of the gods, together with that of the Mother-goddess or 'creator of the gods', evidently confers on Asherat-of-the-Sea a primordial place in Canaanite pantheon of Ugarit. It would be unfair to deny her such position. Moreover, in the texts it is clear that Asherat-of-the-Sea does not take advantage of her power. She discreetly surrenders to her husband the title and position of master of the gods; the limitations of which she can fully appreciate. She hardly ever interferes in the affairs of the gods, and only intervenes on important occasions when her wishes skilfully expounded are bound to triumph."

After thus having proposed an interpretation of the goddess' wrath we are faced with the problem, whether we are indeed entitled to hold the Passover ritual for a genuine Israelitish institution; there are no direct proofs available allowing us to presume that any of the pastoral tribes of Israel had ever worshipped a femal deity, be it in the remote past of the patriarchs or during their sojourn of several hundred years in Egypt up to the time of their wandering through the desert, prior to the conquest of Canaan. Nor is there any evidence allowing us to take it for granted or mere probable that in the course of these remote ages the cult to serve the goddess by cooking the suckling in his mother's milk ever was performed by the Israelites. Rather according to our conception it seems more reasonable to assume that they learned and adopted this ritual as well as the use of all the practices connected with it after they settled down

*viz. qudshu

in Canaan and thus were brought into the closest contact with Canaanite civilization which included among its religious traits the cult of the Great Mother. Before drawing any conclusions arising from this opinion, let us rather turn to the statement of a leading archeologist (5) of our days, which refers to the influence of the Canaanite civilization upon the Israelite conquerors of the country. Thus we will become better acquainted with the situation in which the invaders found themselves when confronted with the inhabitants of the land they were about to occupy for ever, as their heritage promised to them by the God of their forefathers.

"At the outset we should pause to get our bearings, and recall the exceeding important role which the Canaanites played in the history of civilization, quite apart from the influence on Israel. Just as the rootes of our Western culture lie in the civilization of the Greeks and Romans, so the roots of Graeco-Roman culture lay in the Orient, the mediating influence having been the Canaanites (or Phoenicians — after 1200 B.C. the two are synonymous.) It is from this remarkable people that the Greeks borrowed the alphabet and passed it to us. . . . Innumerable architectural and mythological details, many of which still survive, can be traced through Greece to Canaan, and thence to other areas of the Near East.

During the third and second millennia B.C. the Canaanites were in control of practically the whole Syria and Palestine. Their commercial and artistic enterprises were many. . . . By the 11th century B.C., however, a great disaster had overcome the Canaanite peoples. Israelites had deprived them of the most of Palestine; Aramaean invaders had taken most of Eastern Syria; and the Sea peoples (among them the Philistines) had swept over the Mediterranean area like a flood, devastating the Canaanite coastline of Syria and Palestine. In the centuries which followed, having lost nine-tenth of the territory previously occupied, the Phoenicians turned most of their attention seaward and became the greatest sea-trading people of history, founding commercial col-

onies on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean as far as Spain. . . .

It was inevitable that such an energetic people should have left its mark upon Israel. The Hebrews entered Canaan as a semi-nomadic people and settled down to a new type of life; and it was the Canaanites who taught them how to do it. Basically, they were heirs of the Canaanite material culture, continuing to borrow from it throughout the period of the Old Testament. This can be illustrated in numerous ways, but the most striking was in the time of Solomon, when the services of trained Canaanites were secured to carry out his numerous architectural activities. . . . Probably more important for civilization was the influence of Canaan upon Israel's literature. . . . In matters of religion the situation is no less striking. The Israelite view of the world order, the sky, the earth, and the underworld were those of Canaan, and for that matter of the Semitic world in general. Burial customs and the view of the after-life were largely the same. So also was the belief, common throughout the Near East, that the proper way to worship was first of all to sacrifice an animal and bring to the sanctuary gifts from the first fruit of the field, and the herd. Many of the rules by which sacrifice must be made were common property, and it is now evident that much of the elaborate sacrificial ritual found in the book of Leviticus was borrowed from Canaan. Canaanite influence on Psalms and Proverbs, and allusions to Canaanite mythology in the later prophets and in the book of Job are becoming increasingly clear and in the years to come we can expect an increasing number of books and articles on these matters."

Concerning religious worship in the Canaanite sector we may similarly refer to the statement of Wright:

"So great was the borrowing of Israel from Canaan that it has been a common view among Biblical students, that before the prophetic reactionary movement got under ways, Israel's religion, like her material culture, was so

similar to that of Canaan as to make it virtually impossible to distinguish the two in vital matters."

The author, having given this general statement on the influence of Canaanite culture upon the masses of the Israelites, proceeds to the examination of the principal differences between the cultural achievements of the two peoples as revealed in their literature, and thus arrives at the conclusion that official religion of the early Israelites was not polytheistic; neither contains the O.T. any mythology about God. Israel's God stood alone and images of Him were strictly prohibited: Thou shalt make thee no molten Gods! — (Ex. 34 17; 20 4.

"At the same time, however," thus continues the author, "large numbers of figurines representing the Canaanite Mother-Goddess or fertility-goddess are found in every excavation into Israelite houses, indicating that among the common people almost every house must have had one or more of them. They are indisputable evidence of the widespread syncretism, verging on polytheism, among the masses. It is most surprising that we do not find an occasional male image among such unenlightened and tolerant circles. . . . The fact remains, however, that most of the people of Israel apparently thought that Yahweh was simply not honoured in that way. . . ."

We on our part may infer from the findings of modern archeologists that the until then pastoral Israelites acquired also the cult of the Mother goddess by adopting it, together with other religious rituals, from their canaanite neighbours, after they settled down in Canaan and came in close contact with the conquered people whose masters they became. If, however, the author of the above-quoted statement forwards his view with regard to the repeated discoveries of female figurines among the excavated remainders of Israelite houses as against the lack of male idols at the same sites by attributing this fact to the reluctance of the Israelites to worship Yahweh by idolatry, or even imputes it to their acting conform to the commandments of the priests by refusing that kind of

adoration, an inference, such as this appears to derive from the author's own strong monotheistic feeling, rather than from his psychologically convincing adjustment to the emotional life of the crude mass of the people. The latter came to invade a highly civilized country and was now striving to attain by *mimesis* the cultural standard of the former lords of Canaan. The Israelites refrained from keeping male idols in their houses, because neither did the Canaanites; for the latter were still taking to the Great Mother, the female god-head who since times bygone was the intimate divinity worshipped in the house and at the "family-hearth". Baal, on the other hand, the principal male god, who swayed his sceptre sky-high in the clouds over the rains and storms as well as over the waters of the fields, was less interested in the well-being of the house and its inmates, the folks of wives and children, all of whom were clinging to the goddess as their protective deity still at an epoch, at which she had since long been officially deposed and dispossessed of her former paramount role; and while, for this very reason, she was feared and propitiated by the priests of the official Canaanite religion, the people within the walls of the family-abode continued to worship her as before.

Since this trend of *mimesis* must have been far-reaching enough, we have to admit the possibility that the unenlightened mass of the Israelites not only turned to the figurines of the female deity to adopt her worship by imitating their Canaanite neighbours, (with whom in the course of the time they became merged by matrimony), but moreover, that they were also anxious to take over the whole cult of the mother-deity in connection with the fertility-cult of Baal, indicated in Poem III of Ugarit too.

It should consequently not appear as especially strange that the Ishtar-Tammuz cult could take root in the religious life of the Israelites as a popular trend in their community, so that several passages in the books of the Prophets even bring incontestable proofs for the fact that the people of Jerusalem cultivated both the heavenly queen and her son.

By Jeremiah (8 18) we are taught that the women of Jerusalem prepared ritual cakes to the queen of Heaven, whereas incenses were burned and drink offerings poured out 'unto other gods', thus provoking the anger of the Lord. Again (44 15 ff.) the same prophet gives us the answer he got from the Jews, who had since long sojourned in Egypt, and whom he met in that country after he had taken refuge there following the capture of Jerusalem by the armies of Nebukadnezzar. Having been reprehended for their faithless behaviour and betrayal of the God of Israel by worshipping the queen of Heavens, they informed the prophet that they would refuse to give up this cult which had been favoured by their fathers, their kings and princes 'in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem; for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil.'*

These passages in the O.T. must be characterized as very signal, because they show us the adoption of a foreign cult, as which we undoubtedly have to recognize that of Ishtar and Tammuz in regard to Israel by the way of mimesis, and which was embraced by the multitude of the Jerusalem people certainly long before the Babylonian exile. Hence we feel justified to assume that the cultic ritual of the Canaanite Mother-goddess had been taken up by the Israelites in the same way, i.e. by mimesis, when the until then pastoral tribes had conquered Canaan and adopted the religious culture of the indigenous inhabitants of their new home-land.

Deciding this question from the general viewpoint of cultural history instead of being prompted by the special religious past of a single nation like the Jewish, it appears rather irrelevant whether within a geographical zone, in which the Mother-goddess had since ages been indigenous, an ethnic group would adopt the cult and worship of this deity in more or less autochthonic way, or by mimesis. Much

*New aspects concerning the Mother in the religious concepts of Judaism have recently been ventilated by G. G. Barag (*Amer. Imago* Vol. 4, 1946)

more decisive is the circumstance that peoples, quite different in respect of their ethnical origin in this zone and, moreover, often mingled together of diverse racial elements, indiscriminately took to the Mother-goddess, even if, as was the case with Israel, the representatives of the official religion resisted a popular trend like this, having religious ideals at stake which they deemed much better and of a higher standing than the aims of the unenlightened multitude. After all, in a certain degree people always learn by mimesis, i.e. by imitating the rites and costumes of those with whom they come in touch, identifying themselves with them and acquiring their cultural resources, although we are bound to admit that creative peoples are endowed to absorb into their own spiritual life-stream that which they first had acquired by mimesis only.

Thus we indeed are led to assume that Asherah must have occupied a supreme position in the religious fantasy of the Canaanite people, and this idea is really brought home to us by the fact that the bearing of the goddess, although since long compelled to surrender to El, still reflects the sovereignty she formerly possessed. Being now degraded to a 'mere 'mistress of the gods', a *qudshu*, still the religious practice of Ugarit, as shown above, proved eager to propitiate her, granting to her some of her ancient prerogatives, even though the text of the hymn be rather remarkable for its cautiousness, and the wording not quite free of ambiguity.

The impression seems captivating that in the course of time the emotional attitude exhibited by her worshippers to Asherah had to go through several subsequent phases, in accord with the progress and maturing of the religious feeling of the peoples involved.

At the outset, when she was just beginning to become degraded and, successively, forsaken, fear gripped her worshippers, pressing compliance with the ritual which was to obtain its coinage correspondingly. This early phase of dread might well have found its expression in an 'alarm-ritual', the same or a similar one as has been adopted by the Israelites who, when invading the Promised Land, came into touch

with the Canaanite people, acquiring its culture and religious rites withal. It is illustrated by the above-mentioned hymn, that this presumed alarm-ritual must have been connected with the other ancient ritual, evidently deriving from Aegean or Minoan peoples and consisting in the 'slaying of a kid resting in the curds'. As is the case with rituals in general, the latter, too, was still allowed to persist, though the religious spirit gave way to manifold and profound alterations, entailing a new interpretation of the old rite. (The fact that the rite always exists prior to the myth was long time ago stressed by Robertson Smith. (6) The priests of the Israelites, who on the one hand behaved rather indulgently in their endowing the alarm-rite, or its prototype after which the latter has been patterned, with a new interpretation in accordance with the Israelites' own historical vicissitudes, on the other hand strictly prohibited the 'kid-practice', since the mere idea of a female deity, which actually loomed behind this rite, was bound to appear abominable in the eyes of the leaders of a people coming from the desert and being accustomed to a primitive way of cultural existence. Therefore, in Book Exodus the prescription of the alarm-ritual is found interwoven with the severe prohibition of the practice of slaying the kid and preparing it in the milk of its mother.

In time and in the course of cultural development, however, the genuine intensity of the fear of the forsaken goddess abated and gave way to mild and propitiating practices, as are evinced by the hymn quoted before; further, we must be aware of the circumstance that until now only a small part of the cuneiform tablets of Ugarit has been deciphered and thus made comprehensible, so that further translation as well as linguistic interpretation of the rest still well might surprise us with literature bringing to the fore also the linking up of the Israelitish alarm-ritual with its ancient Canaanite original.

Summing up, we arrive at the conclusion that while the representatives of official religion in Israel firmly rejected any kind of worship connected with the Mother-goddess, first of all the cooking of the kid in the mother's milk, they might

well have consented to the performance of a rite that, although similarly taken over wholesale with the Canaanites, has been given by them quite a new interpretation, to the purpose of rendering it fit for the celebration of the Passover festival in memory of the Exodus from Egypt and the liberation of the people from bondage and slavery. It appears likely, therefore, that whereas the Israel authorities enjoyed full control of the rites practised during the official festivities, they were amiss in regard to the worship of the female deity, whose figurines were kept as hidden fetishes somewhere in the homes of the people. And while the latter did not in the least comprehend the original significance of the "alarm-ritual" practised at the Passover festival, for it might have been forgotten even by their Canaanite teachers themselves, from whom they had acquired it by mimesis, nonetheless, they persevered, like their teachers, in clinging in their unconscious thinking to the protective character of the goddess. Their "instinct" had put in their minds to preserve the worship that once upon a time was established as the main cultic feature over a large territory which might have extended from the Hittite country eastward as far as India (7).

We still have to bring our attention to the following question: For what reason might the worshippers of Asherah, once having deserted her, given rise in their minds to fearing the goddess? We deem the question being justified by the fact that the above-mentioned reason, in charging on our part the worshippers with a 'bad conscience', has to be considered as a kind of rationalization undertaken by ourselves, rather than a sufficient motivation of the dread exhibited by the former. It appears far more plausible that the relation of the worshippers to the goddess was always dominated by an ambivalent attitude of simultaneous adoration and dread, and that this mental behaviour is bound to be regarded as having been correlative of the double part the Mother-goddess played, viz. by her being at the same time both the giver and the destroyer of life, the goddess of fecundity and of death as well.

According to Freud's (8) suggestion the character of the goddess might well have covered the three cardinal forms of Man's relations to women in general: as Mother, Lover and the Mother-Earth, i.e. the Grave, Death. "The great Mother Goddesses of Oriental peoples" so he tells us, "seem to have been both originators and annihilators; goddesses of Life and Fecundity and Goddesses of Death." Therefore, it is this double entity that we have to resort to in order to elucidate the fact that the Mother Goddess, in due accord with her double position in human fantasy, had equally played a double role in the myths in which she was implicated and where in connection with her activities wishful fantasies or fear found their embodiment. For whenever her being was split up into the two complements constituting her character and, at the same time, human fantasy proved successful in repressing that complement which represented her as the spoiler of life, she made her appearance as the goddess of life or of love; while, by the same token, if motives prevailed causing the repression of the other complement, as in case her worshippers set about assigning to male gods the very attributes which of old pertained to her as the originator of life and fertility, denying to her these faculties at all, than as a matter of course she must have been induced to play in men's fantasy the part which corresponded to an annihilator of life.* Thus henceforward she would figure in mythical

*The principle of 'reversal to the opposite', as in the present case of Life to Death, belongs to the well-known ego-defence methods psychoanalysts are confronted with and is very often preconditioned by the splitting of the objects partaking in the situation into two contrasting complements which represent, as it were, two ambivalent ingredients of the original object. It is also worth while to quote the words of J. Huizinga (*Homo ludens*, London 1949, p. 117) in this context: "It was no accident that the antithetical trend of archaic philosophy was fully reflected in the antithetical and agonistic structure of archaic society. Man had long been accustomed to think of everything as cleft into opposites and dominated by conflict. Hesiod recognized a good Eris — beneficial strife — as well as a destructive Eris" (Eris being simultaneously the Goddess of Strife).

plots as a destroyer and accordingly, this her second existence, activated at the expense of the first and repressed one, would equally master the archaic forms of the rituals dedicated to her, and, as we have seen above, finally find a subtle expression in propitiating hymns.**

With regard to the mythical fantasy of the Israelites who had subjected to total repression the life-giving complement of Asherah's character, we have to recall that in Jewish myths or tales (Agadoth) the role of the female deity degenerated to that of a demoness, the Lilith, the destroyer of newborn infants.

Furthermore, there are many good reasons for the idea advanced by G. Róheim (9) for regarding the witch as being of a similar derivation. She is the 'phallic woman' who still in our own times haunts the fantasy of the common people, coming to the fore in the latter's widely disseminated witch-folklores. The serpent, viz. the phallos, was the chief emblem of the Mother Goddesses, and we may infer on this head that as a spoiler she was the serpent itself. Thus the symbolic meaning of the scene in Paradise (Gen. 3.), where the serpent's damnation to a cursed beast of the field is performed, "going upon its belly and eating dust all the days of its life", and withal, Eve becomes condemned to the fate of a plain woman "bringing forth children in sorrow", has to be sought for in the cleavage of Eve's character into the two complements alluded to farther above: into that of the giver of life (the woman bearing children) and that of the destroyer of life (the serpent) (10). The fantasy of the Israelites, or at least of those tribes among them who professed the extremest paternal Monotheism (possibly the tribe of Levi, the Levites, as protagonists) was extremely eager to keep to this solution

**With respect to the character of these archaic hymns, it is equally instructive to refer to the meaning emphasized by the same author (Huizinga, *ibid.* p. 122), that "there is as yet no question of the satisfaction of aesthetic impulse. This is still dormant in the experience of the ritual act as such, whence poetry arises in the form of hymns or odes created in a frenzy of ritual elation".

in order to rid itself of the disgusting female deity. However, as has been pointed out in the foregoing lines, ere the carriers of the official monotheistic religion did succeed in repressing the Goddess together with other archaic rituals taken over from the Canaanites, they had to wage a war of several centuries with folk-religion, since they could not attain their object prior to the end of the Babylonian exile of the Jews, when a *Civitas Dei* was established in the old homeland under the protection of the Persian rulers.

It may be presumed that to psychoanalysts it will go without any further explanation that the complement which corresponds to the evil Mother Goddess represents the outward projection of the aggression felt towards her by the worshippers, viz. the personification of their anxiety, in the same way as according to Róheim's above-quoted statement the witch makes up for the infant's aggressive impulse towards its mother, aroused owing to the repeated withdrawal of her nipples from the child. The conclusions to be drawn from this knowledge are far reaching, if we take into account that the aggression of an archaic people allows, as it were, to be caught up and brought unto the form of a ritual, which subjected by degrees to taming, and moreover, transformed, on a religious level, to a conventional feature with play-character (the 'alarm-ritual' mentioned beforehand is downright performed like any dramatical scene), is apt to become converted into socially most valuable traits and functions.

We may consider the small child's aggression as the primary source of its play-impulse, and it was Freud (11) who, in analysing a childhood-recollection of Goethe forthcoming in the latter's 'Poetry and Truth' (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*), straightforwardly marked certain aggressive activities of children, for instance the throwing of sundry objects off the window (or, with smaller children off their bed or chair), as quasi-magic acts instigated by the child's aggression towards somebody unconscious to its mind and which quite evidently betray a play-character, actually having the purport of play to the child's conscious mind.

According to the conception of Huizinga, emphasized in his above-mentioned work 'Homo ludens', we are entitled to look at rather numerous, if not most, human activities of outstanding cultural importance as evincing either a play-character or at least vestiges which indicate their derivation from archaic play-instinct. Thus we on our part feel justified to infer from his deliberation the decisive influence that play wielded in regard to the development of Morality as well as Socialibility among men, and further, we are also in the position to confirm that this viewpoint corroborates Freud's repeatedly pronounced conclusion that in connection with the development of the child's super-ego we are bound to ascribe a powerful civilizing effect to infantile aggression. It may be said in addition that this effect has come to its own a great deal through the medium of Man's archaic competitive (agonistic) play-spirit which ultimately derives from infantile aggression.

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Othello's Obsessions

By Abraham Bronson Feldman, Ph. D.

FOR three centuries Shakespeare's tragedy of the Moor of Venice has served as a lesson in jealousy. Mainly upheld as a warning to passionate husbands, the play's portrayal of the effects of jealousy received infinitely more attention than its picture of the causes. Except by the poet and metaphysician Samuel Coleridge and his disciples, the motives of the cruel husband were examined with the abrupt empiries of the law office, according to the letter of the text. Coleridge denied that jealousy afflicted Othello; to him the guilt of the Moor consisted of a kind of idolatry, a private religion of wife-worship. This conception attracted few thinkers on the drama. Outside the thin Coleridge current the tragedy is everywhere taken as a study in jealousy. As such I propose to examine it, with a view to testing the theories of Freudian science on this disease of marriage. Psychoanalysis will hardly find in literature a richer field for its verification than the drama which William Wordsworth called one of the "most pathetic of human compositions," and which Thomas Macaulay hailed as "perhaps the greatest work in the world."

At first glance Othello appears to be a man self-possessed, in whose mind reason—the ego—governs desire or the id. We see him calmly greeting the summons from the rulers of Venice, who call him on the midnight of his marriage to a council of war. Threatened by the swords of his bride's father's servants, and the insulting speeches of the father, the Moor behaves with all the dignity of a Renaissance soldier and

gentleman. We are inclined to feel that he is not boasting when he speaks of his "perfect soul" (I, ii), serenely confident not only of his fine Italian manners but also of his austere Christian conscience. The Moorish general comes before us as a model of courtesy and grace, by contrast with whom Senator Brabantio, crying out against the son-in-law whom his daughter has selected, strikes us as a barbarian.

On second thought there seems to be a couple of wrong notes in the harmony of Othello's behavior on his wedding night. We cannot help wondering why he eloped with Desdemona without the formality of asking her father to consider his likelihood as a son-in-law. The act was an affront to a powerful citizen, and would look most treacherous coming from a black foreigner. Presumably he felt that Brabantio would reject him. But why should that deprive him of the nerve for confronting the old man? A hint of guiltiness lurks in Othello's leaving home on this fatal night in order to celebrate the marriage at the Sagittary inn, which makes it difficult for his employers of the Venetian senate to find him in time of need. Apparently only two subordinate officers, Michael Cassio, his lieutenant, and Iago, his ancient or ensign, are in the secret of his change of lodging. It is portentous, and a thing of state, that Othello should act so irresponsibly. The disquiet in our respect of him which is thus provoked cannot be allayed by the public assurance he makes, in the meeting with the Senate, that "the young affects" are in him "defunct" (I, iii). In the very scene of this assurance we learn that he confesses to heaven the vices of his blood. But he would have instantly repelled the suggestion that one or another of these vices had led his "perfect soul" astray this night. None of the "young affects," he would have us believe, prompted him to take Desdemona secretly from her home, to wed her clandestinely, and then to bring her to a tavern for the rest of the night. His feeling for her, he insists, results from an intellectual sympathy, a union of minds, and remains subordinate to his intelligence—"My speculative, and offic'd instrument." Without sharing the humor of Iago,

who is nothing if not critical, we are bound to inquire whether a factor of self-deception might not be discovered behind the aged soldier's protest?

Since the Moor was seven years old, he informs us, he has lived the military life, and maybe worse, having been a wanderer in savage countries, and at one time a slave. "A natural and prompt alacrity," he says, "I find in hardness." Equally natural, though well concealed, is his alacrity for a certain softness. We do not see this in the open until the tragedy is well on its way. In the first act there comes barely more than one passage which could be interpreted as a betrayal of his weakness. When his wife pleads with the senators to allow her to go with him to Cyprus, he first requests them to agree. The next moment, however, he states that he must leave her behind, in charge of Iago, who has to stay to get the Senate's final commands. The contradiction here points to an unrest in Othello's soul, an unrest that could spring only from the frailty of his resolution about Desdemona. The Duke of Venice had left the question of her voyaging with him to their private determination. It looks as though the Moor's first impulse was to sail with her by his side, and that an impulse of shame or some other feeling of error had made him adopt a more "virtuous" pose, in the Machiavellian sense of the word, virile, warlike. The act concludes before we can decide whether Othello's whole show of manliness is a masquerade or not. Certainly he performs the role of the sensible soldier with artistic skill.

The military life, we learn at the outset of the play, has failed to instill in the Moor's heart the commonplace prejudice of the veteran of battles against the fellows who learn the art of war from books. From this prejudice springs the initial driving force of the tragedy—Iago's rage over the election of Cassio as the general's second in command. The ancient could not endure the promotion to lieutenantancy of a mere scholar-soldier, the "beauty" of whose daily life serves to accentuate his lack of various qualities found useful in the bestialities of the battlefield. Othello must have known that

the lieutenantancy was desirable to Iago, and that the ensign had courage and brains to fill the position with distinguished ability, no matter how corruptly. Three grandees of Venice urged the general to choose Iago for the job. "But he (as loving his own pride, and purposes)" (I, i) chooses the foreigner Michael Cassio.

It is more than the compassion of one alien for another that inspired the Moor to pick the Florentine for his lieutenant. Othello affectionately calls the younger man, in the first part of the play, by his first name. We are led to think that a friendship or love exists between them in the noblest tradition of Plato or Pico della Mirandola. Not even Iago suggests that their love is less. The friendship falls short of perfection, we discern from the fact that Cassio was kept in ignorance of his chief's marriage until Iago told him of it (I, ii). But the reason for this imperfection remains in the dark.

When Cassio arrives in Cyprus (the island, by the way, anciently sacred to Venus) he prays for his master's safety and wishes him Godspeed to reunion with Desdemona: "Great Jove," the scholar prays, "Othello guard. . . That he may bless this bay with his tall ship, Make love's quick pants in Desdemona's arms," and revive the spirits of the island depressed by the menace of the Turks. The amorous allusions in the speech are obviously meant by the dramatist to be taken in humorous sense (II, i), despite Cassio's anxiety for Othello's welfare. Shakespeare conceived Cassio as a humanist of his own time, a classically educated Christian youth, familiar with Shakespeare's favorite poet, Ovid, and not unacquainted with Italian erotic poets like Aretino. The dramatist endowed Cassio with the religious convictions of a Calvinist (see his opinions on salvation in II, iii). Puritan theology does not prevent the young Florentine from sporting with prostitutes. Nevertheless, it is clear that Shakespeare intended no sensual sting in Cassio's references to Othello's desire for Desdemona. Before he pronounces them, we are told, Cassio "looks sadly," and prays for the safety of his chief. It is

Shakespeare's erotic wit that we must blame (if blame we must) for the image of Othello's tall ship riding in the bay of Cyprus, which inevitably calls to mind the notorious simile in the *Sonnets* comparing the poet's dark lady to a bay where all men ride.

If the Moor's mind suffers from carnal imaginings, we are given no sign of them when he makes his appearance in Cyprus, going to greet his wife. In fact their encounter summons into his consciousness thoughts of carnal extinction, of death. He kisses her almost in pain, as if life could never hold a joy worth this single minute of their meeting after the businesslike parting in Venice and the storm that divided them at sea. She healthily looks forward to a future of conubial joys and mutual comfort, but her husband cannot shake off his melancholy mood. With relief the old soldier turns to his dear Michael to deliver orders for the martial government of the isle.

In the same scene we discover that Iago suffers not only from his lack of advancement but from suspicion that Cassio has seduced his wife. And not only Cassio, whom he mocks as "too severe a Moraller"—but Othello too! The accusation surprises us, convinced as we are of Iago's keen intelligence and knowledge of the nature of his superior officers. Coleridge found it incredible that the subtle Iago should believe his charge, and described his malignity as "motiveless," or evil cultivated for its own sake. Yet suppose we imagine Iago as wishing to believe the slanders. He surely wished to believe his slanderous remarks on womankind (II, i). He loves to let his intellect dwell on fancies of obscenity. It may be that he derived an obscure pleasure from the thought of Othello and Cassio occupying his place by Emilia's side. This pleasure is not unknown among husbands of homosexual bent. And images of sex are quite confused in Iago's mind. Note the ardor of his description of the way Cassio and Roderigo behaved before their alleged brawl: "Friends all, but now, even now! In quarter, and in terms like bride, and groom Divesting them for bed. . ." (II, iii). The simile trips

off Iago's tongue as he talks to Othello, knowing that the general has just come from bridegroom's bed. Malice peeps from the speech. The intensity of Iago's hate for the Moor, which is the real propeller of the play, cannot be accounted for by the mere frustration of his wish for the lieutenant's place. Coleridge correctly branded that as a hollow excuse for hate. Yet Iago is unconscious of any other cause for his malignity toward the Moor, except the utterly irrational surmise that Othello has lain with his wife. The crazy suspicion indicates that the fascination which the general unconsciously exerts for him is rooted in sex. Indeed the intensity of his hate for Othello may be described as a fury of outraged love. A love which Iago's cynical, sex-detesting ego dared not confess to itself.

The indignation of Othello at the spectacle of Cassio fighting with Roderigo is superbly justified by the dramatist. After all, Cyprus lives under martial law, in fear of Turkish attack. This is no time for the lieutenant to drink healths to Othello and his wife, realizing how poorly his wits admit alcohol. So we hardly recognize a loss of ego-sovereignty in the general when he declares, "My blood begins my safer guides to rule" (II, iii). The expression of his anger against "Michael" goes to a peculiar extreme in speech. The man responsible for the offense, he cries, "Though he had twinn'd with me, both at a birth, Shall lose me." We had no idea till now that Othello considered Cassio so close to him, so intimate in brotherly love. The offense deprives Cassio of his office. But it has no power to deprive him of Othello's love. "Cassio," the Moor declares, "I love thee, But never more be officer of mine." The avowal tells us plainly that the Moor's love for the Florentine is not spiritual in its nature, not the result of attraction to Cassio's virtues, his culture traits. It is unreasoning love, a feeling that Othello's conscience (superego) is constrained to acknowledge to all Cyprus in the sight of Michael's disgrace.

The third act opens with renewal of the revelation of Othello's love for the scholar-soldier. Iago's wife is shown

assuring him, "But he (the general) protests he loves you And needs no other suitor but his likings To bring you in again" to military favor. In this act we hear that the two men have known each other long. We learn that Othello's faith in Cassio extended to the point where he could bring the young man with him when he came wooing Desdemona, and let him serve as messenger for their love. (This renders more enigmatic Shakespeare's failure to explain Cassio's ignorance of his general's marriage.) Listening to Emilia depict the general as ready to forgive Cassio his drunken outburst, and restore the severe "Moraller" to his rank, we are justified in feeling bewilderment at the sight of Othello's conduct on observing the poor fellow departing from Desdemona. A few dry words from Iago at his ear are sufficient to plant distrust in the Moor's mind, distrust of his friend and his wife.

Coleridge sternly averred that Othello is not a victim of jealousy. The masses, on the contrary, both enlightened and illiterate, have judged the Moor guilty of that disease. He himself asserts at the close of his life that he was not "easily jealous," but confesses that he could be worked up to an extreme perplexity in which he was capable of thinking his wife a whore. The third act of his tragedy makes it perfectly clear that the working up was by no means a lengthy affair.

After seeing the wretched Cassio leave Desdemona he confronts her with questions that signify nothing if not disrespect for her. She mentions the man who "languishes in your displeasure." "Who is't you mean?" he queries; "Went he hence now?" The ingenuous questions give away the secret of his strenuous manliness. Unpleasant as the idea is to him, Othello must admit that his "virtue" depends on his devotion to the girl Desdemona, whom he thus dishonestly attempts to catch in wicked thoughts of Cassio. "Perdition catch my soul," the Moor exclaims, "but I do love thee, and when I love thee not, Chaos is come again" (III, iii). This is a far different song from the one he sang to the Venetian senate, vowing that love was permitted in his spirit a place inferior

to his passion for soldiership. The prime business of his life, he had sincerely fancied before seeing Cassio's farewell to his wife, was war. But now we discover that with the loss of affection for Desdemona, "Othello's occupation's gone" (III, iii). The chaos he speaks of is mental, a perplexity into which he falls from a stature of nobility and civilization, tortuously attained, to the level of the "Anthropophagi" whom he had met in his wanderings.

The descent of Othello's soul to its peculiar hell begins from the moment when he suspects the lurking of some "horrible conceit" behind Iago's arid remarks on Cassio's relations with Desdemona. The horrible conception lurks, of course, in his own mind. Nothing has been done or said to taint the atmosphere with hideous thoughts, unless it was the girl's casual allusion to Michael's talks with her in the period of Othello's courtship. But the Moor shows no affect for her remark that Cassio, "so many a time," when she had spoken of Othello "dispraisingly," gallantly took his leader's part. The source of his "conceit" cannot be found in Desdemona's nor in Iago's words, nowhere but in the dark of Othello's unconscious, his id.

He describes Iago's mutters and blurts in terms that he is accustomed to apply to himself, as utterances working from a heart that "passion cannot rule." Hastily agreeing with the ancient that Cassio's "an honest man" he demands a statement of the vileness that Cassio and Desdemona have already committed in his fantasy: "Give thy worst of thoughts The worst of words." In short, Othello wants obscenity. Still clinging to his life-mask of self-deception he declaims, "Exchange me for a goat, When I shall turn the business of my soul" to the craze of a suspicious husband. "I'll see before I doubt." Already he doubts, seeing the sin in his mind's eye, lingering in thoughts of the treachery of his wife and his officer. He is even willing to believe that her feeling for him is a perversion—"Nature erring from itself . . ." This monstrous opinion of the love of white woman for black man doubtless has a history longer than the duration of the

play. It must have been engendered in Othello's mind at the time that Desdemona disclosed her care for him, and been fiercely repressed. It was probably at the back of his mind when he resolved to elope with her, too prudent or afraid to face her father and invite his consent to their union. The speed with which the Moor's contempt for Desdemona manifests itself under the whip of jealousy indicates that his love for her was not very deep. The origin of his love, he told the Venetians, was in her "pity" for his misfortunes. Apparently he never forgave her pity. [The ex-slave enjoyed the patrician girl's kind condescension but despised her for it. His egoistic resolve to cast her off once he has obtained proof of her falsehood goes to pieces under the impact of the passion that stirs his nature to its very bedrock. Prove her wanton, he says to Iago, and then — "Away at once with love or jealousy!" Yet he cannot relinquish his hate for her. Not only remembering how she seemed to shake and fear his looks when he wooed her, but thinking how Cassio could have betrayed his confidence and love. It is the latter thought that drives Othello mad.

In fantasy the Moor beholds his friend kissing Desdemona, and in fury asks Iago to present him with "ocular proof" of her whoredom. He indulges in visions of his wife yielding her body to "the general camp, Pioneers and all." All this before his conscience wakes up to the fact that Iago has not yet given him a reason for her disloyalty. Challenged for a reason, Iago responds with a story of how Michael Cassio made love in his sleep. He taunts Othello with a vivid picture of soldiers sleeping together, and his report of Cassio's alleged gestures and whispers enrages the Moor to the point where he feels capable of killing, not Cassio, but his wife! "I'll tear her all to pieces." Then Iago screws him to the sticking point of murder by telling him that he had seen Cassio wipe his beard with the strawberry-spotted handkerchief that Othello had given Desdemona as first gift. It is only when Cassio is mentioned in connection with the handkerchief that we hear how obsessed Othello is by the thought

of it. When Desdemona tried to bind his aching head with it and dropped it, the Moor had shown no profound concern. "Let it alone," he said, although (we learn from Emilia) he had conjured her "she should ever keep it." Having renounced Desdemona in his mind, however, he was probably not displeased to see her separated from the precious napkin which, as we later hear, his mother had preserved as a love-charm, sure to save her from the loathing of her husband. The thought of it stained with Cassio's dust and sweat convinces Othello that Iago's charges are all true and inspires him with a craving for blood, worthy of the Anthropophagi.

In the middle of this crucial scene (III, iii) Othello tells Iago, "I am bound to thee for ever," apparently out of gratitude for the ancient's loyalty. The scene concludes with Iago swearing, "I am your own for ever." I have suggested that Iago's devotion to the Moor is the outcome of an unconscious lust. Possibly there is another reason for their sinister alliance, a reason springing from the unconscious tendency of Shakespeare's art in creating characters. Dr. Ludwig Jekels once argued (in *Imago*, V, 1918) that the poet frequently split his characters in two, converting them to separate *personae*, each of whom then appears not altogether comprehensible until combined again with the other. Macbeth and his Lady, according to Jekels, presented the dramatic poles of such a schism. I believe that Othello and Iago offer a more reliable proof of his theory. English ethics require that we give the devil his due. Shakespeare knew that Iago was not fundamentally to blame for the downfall of Othello. In fact, we might describe the ancient as the Moor's evil *alter-ego*. When Iago observes the encounter of Cassio and Desdemona he utters a noncommittal sentence or two and repeats the questions his master flings at him. At once the Moor declares: "By heaven, he echoes me, As if there were some monster in his thought Too hideous to be shown" (III, iii). There is no hint of a monster in Iago's words; the hideousness hides in Othello's own heart. He wishes to think as evilly of his wife as Iago does of Emilia. All the lechery in Othello's

soul emerges on Iago's tongue. And the servility of the general's inner attitude to his white overlords appears naked in his officer, who is again and again branded as a "slave." There is actually more in common between Othello and Iago than there is between the Moor and the Florentine, Michael Cassio.

That Othello's jealousy is for love of Cassio cannot, of course, be demonstrated by overt testimony. Only psychoanalysis can supply the evidence. The Moor's unconscious hides his true feeling for the Florentine by a trick of ambiguity, compelling his ego to couple the love with his honorable sentiment for Desdemona. His superego allows him to think lecherously of Cassio under cover of righteous horror of his wife's alleged guilt. The fourth act starts with a riot of fantasy about Desdemona lying "naked in bed with her friend." Othello learns that the "friend" possesses his napkin—by ocular proof. There follows a rush of breathless punning, in Shakespeare's most personal glossophilia vein, on the word "lie" mingled with images of the magic handkerchief. Othello burns to force a confession from Cassio, and then to hang him. The thought makes him tremble. He falls into a trance with inarticulate utterance: "Noses, ears, and lips; is't possible? Confess? Handkerchief? O devil!" On waking from the trance, which does not appear to be epileptic but simply hysterical, the Moor asks, "Did he confess it?" He goes on to goad himself into frenzy with imaginings of how Desdemona "pluckt him (Cassio) to my chamber," and of how he will punish the Florentine. "How shall I murder him, Iago?" he cries; yet finds himself unable to lay a finger on Cassio. Instead he revels in fancies of killing the youth through nine years, and throwing his nose to a dog. One need not be trained in clinical Vienna to discern in this nose-image a substitute for the castration-wish. Othello's mind swerves quickly away from the thought of hurting Cassio and pounces happily on images of revenge against his wife. To cuckold him, he thinks, was bad enough; to have done it with his officer was worse. Iago says so.

A letter arrives from the Venetian senate instructing the general to return, leaving the government of Cyprus to lieutenant Cassio. He does not inform the letter-bearer that Cassio is demoted. The sight of Desdemona rejoicing at the news of their going home maddens him into striking her. Not for one moment is he impressed by the fact that the summons will separate her from her alleged lover, nor the fact that she shows no sorrow for leaving the isle. "Cassio shall have my place:" that is the idea rankling him as he turns from her in loathing, and blurts out his contempt for her sex and Cassio's kind: "Goats and monkeys!"

In the following scene (IV, ii) we see the Moor questioning Emilia about his wife's behavior. Earlier in the play he had urged Iago to set Emilia to spy on her. Eagerly Othello puts all the blame for the alleged sin on Desdemona, charging her with aggression in lust. He treats Emilia as a procuress and his wife as a prostitute, and still pretends that his life is staked on faith in Desdemona:

But there where I have garner'd up my heart,
Where either I must live, or bear no life,
The fountain from the which my current runs,
Or else dries up: to be discarded thence"

He wishes that she had never been born. Then she would never have tempted Cassio and robbed him of the Florentine's love.

It should be obvious by now that Othello's love for Brabantio's daughter was a makeshift passion, the device of a mind in terror of a certain chaos to save itself. The chaos feared by the Moor can be defined as a madness resulting from a revelation of his inner lack of manliness. This fear of unvirility springs from a deeply repressed homosexual impulse, manifested by his passion for Cassio. It is Cassio's violation of his trust, in the drinking scene, that prepares the way for Othello's explicit avowal of distrust for his wife. Unconsciously, I dare say, the Moor had never felt devotion for Desdemona. He had ventured to love her because she had pitied him, he thought, he, the soldier of fortune and mis-

fortune, the former slave. It was a matter of pride, his courtship—a proof of his mounting in the world to equality with the grandees whose military hireling he was. Moreover, by marrying Desdemona he felt that at last he was overcoming the influence of his life as a lonely alien, assuring himself a home in Christendom, in civilization, far from the horrors of his Moorish infancy. He must have experienced always in his heart the want of pity, as a foreign mercenary, who had lost the religion of his father and mother, and lived by serving at war the Christendom which aimed to destroy their world. His sentiment for Desdemona, therefore, may be explained as the affect of a defense-mechanism against the pull of his barbaric past, the return of the repressed. The magnetic spell of barbarism in Othello's id functioned indivisible from his craving for sodomy. His martial exterior deceives nobody outside the play; the essence of Othello is effeminate. Frank Harris long ago pointed out, in *The Man Shakespeare* (1909), that in "sincerest ecstasy" the Moor reveals "as much of the woman's nature as of the man's."

No deeper than his faith in Desdemona was Othello's conviction of the truth of Christianity. His obsession for his mother's Egyptian-magic handkerchief discloses a childhood attachment to African superstition. It shows us what Brabantio meant when he said that, if Othello had his way with Desdemona and Venice, "Bondslaves and pagans will our statesmen be" (I, ii). It is the pagan in Shakespeare's hero which induces him at the hour of his wife's murder to make a comparison between the event and the crucifixion of Christ. The allusions to darkness covering the whole land and the opening of the earth are unmistakable. And the Moor likens himself to "the base Judean," doubtless Judas Iscariot, who "threw a pearl away Richer than all his tribe." It is no accident that when Othello finally thinks of killing himself, he remembers at the same time how he had rescued a Christian from a Turk by killing the "circumcised dog." He smites himself just as he had stabbed the infidel. As a son of Mauretania he, too, bore the mark of the Semite covenant with God; but

there is not a word of this in the play. The terror of castration, nevertheless, runs through the entire work, from the first scene where Iago declares that, before he will let the world see "The native act and figure" of his heart, he will wear that organ upon his sleeve for birds to peek at, to the last "bloody period."

Othello's Moorish fatherland is linked in the unconscious not only with sex-terror but also with vision of an id-paradise. At least his creator seems to have thought of Africa as a wonderland of libido. In the second part of *King Henry IV* he presented the vagabond Pistol raving of the happiness of rapine that the coronation of his comrade Prince Hal may bring him and his underworld friends. "A foutra for the world," shouts Pistol, "and worldlings base! I speak of Africa and golden joys (V, iii)." All students of Shakespeare know what Egypt signified to him, in contrast with the austerity of Rome. He pictured Cleopatra (the Greek dynast) as black from "Phoebus' amorous pinches." He pictured the soul of Othello similarly colored, like his visage, from the African sun and the "sensual sting." It is curious that, on the night when Othello plans to murder his wife in her bed-chamber, Iago lies to Roderigo that the Moor is planning to take his wife to Mauretania (IV. ii). The bed of Desdemona may have seemed like Mauretania to the Moor, just as the bed of Shakespeare's Cressida was indeed an India. Also curious is the reference of Othello's wife, in the following scene, of a servant girl she once knew, named Barbara, whose lover "prov'd mad And did forsake her." Barbara's name reminds us pungently of Othello's mother-country. In the first scene of the drama Iago compares him to a "Barbary horse."

The Anthropophagi, "the Cannibals that each other eat," with tales of whom Othello had lured Desdemona from her household tasks (I, iii), contributed to his mental heritage. Their appetite can be detected in his sadistic visions of torturing Cassio for years and chopping Desdemona into messes, messes like those King Lear imagines the Scythians made of their "generation" in order to devour them. To the

bitter end, however, Othello's conscience guards him against the lust for blood. He exults over the wounded body of Cassio but never stops to see if he is actually killed (V, i). The Moor leaves the poor Florentine crying for help and strides off swearing to spot the bed of Desdemona with her blood. Once in her chamber his mind swings violently away from the thought of killing her so, and settles on the resolution to "sacrifice" her bloodlessly, by suffocation. A man so unmanned was bound to think more steadfastly of the killing of a helpless girl—his rival—than of the killing of a brave soldier like Cassio, his beloved Michael. And the cause of this "sacrifice," the cause not to be named to the "chaste stars"? So far as Othello has moral strength to admit his purpose aloud, it is this: "she must die, else she'll betray more men" (V, ii). [The honor, the virtue of men means more to him than the noblest of her woman's qualities. She demands that Cassio be sent for and questioned about the charge against them. The idea of confronting Cassio with it never seems to have occurred to the Moor, though Iago feared it would. Apparently the ex-slave lacked the courage to face his former love, his *beau ideal* of gentle yet militant youth, or to lift a hand against him, except from behind, by Iago's agency. To kill his ego's idol must have struck him as a sort of suicide.]

The key to Othello's personality is the handkerchief his mother gave him on her deathbed. When he first tells Desdemona what it meant to him, he says that an Egyptian charmer gave it to his mother (III, iv). At the end of the tragedy he tells a different tale. He says his father gave it to his mother (V, ii). One may infer from this contradiction that the Moor thought reluctantly of his father, the man responsible for his circumcision, his rival for the mother's love. On the other hand, Othello revelled in the memory of his mother. His first gift to Desdemona, on whom he pinned his faith in all womanhood, was the napkin, "that recognizance and pledge of love," which his mother had sworn would safeguard the love of husband and wife, until it was lost, when the husband's passion would transform to loathing. The

symbolism of the strawberry-spotted cloth remains a riddle. Perhaps it points to a savage assurance of chastity by the preservation of a cloth marked by hymen stains. At all events, for the Moor of Venice the gift of the napkin was a gesture signifying that he had exalted Desdemona to the place occupied by his mother in his soul. The gesture was a delusion. The Venetian girl could never take the Moorish woman's place. Othello lost his faith in the former, and the morality of her creed and class; he never lost his infant faith in his mother's magic, and belief in the law of his "tribe." When he heard that Cassio was wiping his beard with the thing, the Moor made up his mind definitely to murder. . . Desdemona, the rival of his mother. But he had already marked his bride for death when he declined to let her pick up the handkerchief when it fell from her hand as she was trying to tie it on his sick head. He thrust her off and it fell. In this act of alienation his ego's cultural ramparts against the id, his Italian code of honor and his Christian dignity broke down. The "erring barbarian" that Iago recognized in him (I, iii), and the "cursed slave" he saw at last in himself (V, ii) rose to the light and ran amok. But his fury contented itself with the stabbing of Cassio and the smothering of Desdemona, leaving the former to the cold efficiency of his officer while dedicating himself to the task of sweet hot vengeance on the girl. A man so spiritually chained to his mother was fated to find all other women inferior, selfish, and treacherous. But he dreaded the very thought of the loss of masculinity, just as he feared the memory of his father, and he strove to cover his profoundly wounded sex with the glory of the most manly life he knew, the soldier's splendor. It veneered his feminine nature as poorly as his boast of descent from royalty protected him from the shame of the slave. As soon as he adventured from the life of a chattel and a war-hireling to the life of an independent civilian, a lover and husband, he was lost. No Iago was necessary to ensnare his soul and body. When he demands "that demi-devil" to tell why he deluded him, Othello is once more deluding himself. Facing once more

the representatives of Venice and Christendom, his ego assembles as best it can the fragments of his civilization, his character armor, and he pretends again "the noble nature Whom passion could not shake" (IV, i). To the last he lies about himself: "For nought I did in hate, but all in honor" (V, ii). He wishes to die with decorum, with his boots on, so to speak. Yet he dies dropping tears, "as fast as the Arabian trees Their med'cinable gum," in womanly relief, catharsis, while assuring his auditors solemnly that he is a man "unused to the melting mood."

The Freudian exposition of jealousy, its homosexual current, its castration complex and menace to masculinity, its paranoia tendency, is wealthily confirmed by the tragedy of *Othello*.

In closing this survey of *Othello* I would like to point out the beautiful revelation it contains of the economic element in jealousy, the passion for proprietorship:

O curse of marriage!

That we can call these delicate creatures ours,
And not their appetites. (III, iii.)

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As we go to press the following paragraph comes to hand from a letter by author to Theodor Reik.

Yesterday I finished reading for the first time your "Psychology of Sex Relations" (1945). Again I was deeply impressed by your outstanding powers as a naturalist of the soul, while I remained unconvinced by your criticism of Freud. . . . The book includes a chapter on jealousy, which announces a theory of Shakespeare's Othello surprisingly like the one I have evolved independently, and stated in an article, "Othello's Obsessions," which will come out in the *American Imago*. I refer to the conceptions of Othello's sense of inferiority as a former black slave, and his relation to Iago as ego to subdued self. My interpretation of the moor is more in concord with the Freudian doctrine of jealousy, but so far as your analysis goes—with the exception of the remarks on race hate—it parallels my own. I cannot agree with your opinion that Othello was disdained by the Venetian nobility. Brabantio, the Duke, and other representatives of the nobility in the play, voice not only

respect, but affection for him. In my judgment, the fact that the Moor had been a Moslem made a stronger impression on the Christians of Venice than his (mixed) race, though of course his color and previous condition of servitude affected them to profound alienation. But I do not want to argue about our differences. I want only to express my happiness in finding a psychologist of your stature arrived at the standpoint of my analysis years before I ripened my opinions for public print.

Notes On The "Berit"

In Two Dreams . . .

by
Irwin Herbst

I

THE dreamer was a patient named Abraham, 26 years old, Jewish, and a housepainter by occupation. Prior to the *berit* which stimulated these dreams, he had frequently expressed the desire to marry R, a girl with whom he had had a close relationship for several years. In his analysis, R appeared as the half-satisfying, half-disappointing mother.

Dream material subsequent to the analyst's cautioning him about taking such a step before the termination of his analysis portrayed the analyst as a denying and punishing father. The patient then attended the *berit* of David, new-born son of R's brother, and brought in this dream. Upon awakening, he had to urinate.

"I am painting an apartment. Another man whom I think of as Bernard Baruch is in charge of the work. This man is priming the walls of the entryway with shellac but he is applying it so heavily that it runs in tears down the wall. I feel contemptuous of his work but he smugly continues. I begin to work on the living room but find I don't have enough dropcloths to cover the maroon rug on the floor. I wonder what to do, how to start."

As background to the dream, the patient reported that during the weekend of the *berit*, he and R had had "very good sex." At the ceremony, they were the "kvattas" (god-parents). This circumstance brought back memories of a sim-

ilar role enacted by himself (at 5½) and his mother in Europe at the berit of another David who recently committed suicide. At the time of this earlier berit, the patient's father was working in America, having been separated from his family since the patient was 3½. The family joined the father in this country when the patient was 6. During this interval, his mother treated him as "the little man of the house."

The patient mentioned his intense interest in the ceremony, noting especially the baby's urinating, the baby's erection and the mohel's (circumciser) "squeezing the head of the penis to stop the erection" before the actual circumcision.

In his associations, the patient thought of Bernard Baruch as an "ostentatiously deaf elder statesman . . . a Jew yet not a Jew . . . representative of power and wealth." This in contrast to his own feelings in which being a Jew meant being "sensitive . . . weak" and "always made me doubt that I was really accepted, that I really belonged to this country."

Bernard was also the name of R's brother with whom R, as a child, had had sexual relations. He was thought of as having a "cruel, tense sort of face . . . hairless, like a eunuch." After the circumcision, the patient was concerned for the baby since Bernard was to take care of it, his wife being unable to do so at the time. The patient remarked he could not help thinking of her as a "poor substitute for R".

This patient then remembered a cousin named Baruch (in Hebrew) and called Bernie (in English). He disliked this cousin and pictured him as a "fat, impotent slob." He connected him with stories concerning unsuccessful mastoid operations which left Bernie partly deaf, and with other stories relating to Bernie's "botched circumcision". Throughout his childhood, he never saw Bernie without thinking "something was wrong with his penis".

This led the patient to the mohel at the berit who worked as if he were "in a great rush," then to his great grandfather, "a mohel and a scholar", from whom the patient derived his name. There followed the Biblical story of Abraham

who was "promised fruitfulness in his old age after his circumcision pact with Yahweh".

The careless way the supervising painter in the dream was applying the shellac reminded the patient of himself when "I'm on a rush job or going through the motions to finish a job just well enough for it to be accepted for the moment". This was fakery for shellac applied this way "remained moist and soon showed through the top coat of paint".

The maroon rug brought to mind the canopy (chupah) used at weddings, while the dropcloths suggested "something that makes me secure in my work. . . I don't have to worry about messing up the place with my splattering".

From past work with the patient, it had been learned that he was often called a "little pisher" as a boy, a favorite Yiddish synonym for the child who cannot hold his urine. In addition, he had many times used 'painting an apartment' as an image for his sexuality and/or sex with mother.

With his need to urinate (in identification with the baby at the berit) providing the language and motif of the dream, the patient first struck competitively at the analyst-father, portraying him as an incompetent "eunuch". Later, he yielded to his superego's threatening reproach and viewed *himself* as the "little pisher" ("not enough dropcloths").

Within this defence was the urethrally phrased ("tears") plaint that it was the heedless ("deaf") analyst who pushed him to maturity before he was ready, who was to be blamed for the "rush job", for faking. The attempted alibi becomes understandable when we recall that, at 3½, the patient was encouraged "to take papa's place."

Maturity meant marriage with R-mother. The possibility of this marriage was heightened by his own aggressive 'defence' against the denying analyst-father, and the subsequent overt success of his sexual relations with R. 'Success',

however, also increased the danger of retaliation by the father.

At this point of his Oedipal conflict, David's berit occurred. The patient found himself, as he did at 5½, openly playing husband to mother (kvattas). And again the sight of the actual 'castration' focussed his inner attention on the Oedipal father who, in talion manner, would castrate him. The dream then, while partially expressive of his aggression, was first of all an attempt to allay anxieties connected with father's retaliation.

The berit itself appeared most directly in the figure of Bernard Baruch, all-powerful and with the mark of the berit ("deaf") about him. To identify with such a Jew, or with Bernard the brother or Bernie the boys, meant a submission to the circumcision process and a giving up of the desirable mother.

To the patient, Bernard, R's brother, was able to become the father only after he accepted the 'crippling' circumcision pact, gave up his sister R and married his own woman ("a poor substitute"). Further, Bernie and his "botched circumcision" was no encouragement to play the role of Abraham, self-circumciser. The berit then, also stimulated the half-defiant assertion "Why should I accept this mark of the Jew if to do so is to be 'weak' and left with a poor substitute for mother!" Yet, this was whistling in the dark for to deny his Jewishness equated to death (David's suicide).

The trick was to have mother with father's blessing. We recall his connecting marriage with the end of his analysis. If, then, he could fake the pact with Yahweh ("go through the motions"), deceive the analyst-father and rush the analysis, this might be the way out of the dilemma.

II

A short time before the berit, the patient, who had an excellent singing voice, decided to continue his studies to

be a cantor. Two weeks after the dream, with the help of his father, he was to have an audition at his father's synagogue. The audition consisted of his leading the Saturday Sabbath services. On the day preceding, the patient, though not at all overtly religious, carefully followed all the Sabbath ritual restrictions such as not smoking, riding, carrying anything, etc., and arranged to spend the night at his father's house so that he could walk to the synagogue with his father on Saturday morning. All this, he explained, to "please his father . . . and be accepted by the orthodox congregation."

Dreams at this time revealed his fear that he would be "seen through," reproaches that he was a "fake Jew", and reassurances that, if he gave up his foreskin which he equated with his mother, he would be parting with it only temporarily and would get it back "when the Messiah came". (The foreskin was always "buried" or "kept safe in a grave"; it was never "burned" for "a cremated body was lost forever").

The patient then brought in the following dream:

"This seemed to happen many years ago, perhaps in revolutionary times. Somebody, a man or a woman, was murdered. The body was decomposing somewhere, unburied. Then I was a detective in a large room, maybe a synagogue. I was with some people, men wearing praying shawls, grouped around a table as if they were reading the Torah (Bible). Somehow the Torah was also the body and we were all picking at it and eating it like cannibals. It was putrid. Then as I looked out of the window I saw a hunchback with a dummy pair of legs in boots. He kept moving these 'legs' in the air with his hands as if he were trying to deceive us. He was walking this way in the area from which the body came. I knew he was the murderer coming back to the scene of the crime and I pointed him out".

Among other things, the dream was stimulated by a

boil on R's thigh and her refusal to have sexual intercourse with the patient.

The patient thought of the boil as "putrid" and recalled his grandfather's description of women as "putrid flesh always in need of preservatives (cosmetics)".

The cannibalism in the dream brought to mind his own desire "to eat R up" when sexually aroused; similar words used by his mother as terms of affection when he was a child; the story of Adam "whose flesh was cut off to make Eve"; and, a turkey he had once cooked when he shared an apartment with his friend L. at 19. The turkey was eaten at a party and the remains were left out on the terrace until they rotted. L., he recalled, "though he had his own woman" had sexual intercourse with a "virgin" the patient knew and "left blood all over the sheets. . . I thought he was cruel".

The patient then remembered the Hebrew word for boil—*makah*—which his mother had frequently used as a curse. This brought to mind the *makahs* (plagues) directed at the Egyptians in Biblical times and the "sacrifice of the kid to save the Jewish first-born from the Angel of Death".

He continued with stories he had heard from his grandfather relating to the persecution of the Jews based on legends of the "ritual killing of Gentiles at Passover". He told of his excitement as a child at the "arrival of a savior, like the Golem, who rescued the people".

In further associations, he spoke of the Jews "not only destroying Egypt but eating their gods, the cows." He recalled that the Jews later reverted to the worship of the Golden Calf but "somehow Yahweh forgave them—maybe because they circumcised themselves and burned their fore-skins in the desert".

To the patient, the Torah was "the scrolls of the law . . . carried like a bride . . . the queen", and eating it was "learning it, for learning is food".

The hunchback brought to mind his mother's criticism of himself as "round-shouldered" and her "picking on me to

straighten up." The curious movements of the hunchback reminded him of his grandfather's story of the pig who "tries to deceive you into thinking he is 'kosher' by sitting on his rear legs and exhibiting his front paws with their cloven hooves but you must remember that he doesn't chew his cud."

At first glance, the dream demonstrated the patient's oral sadistic reactions to R's refusal of sexual intercourse (L's "cruelty" to the virgin). Through the boil, R is linked with the mother image, against whom his destructive aggression was partially gratified in the dream's early phase (eating the "queen").

Projecting his own hostilities, the patient defended them by recalling his mother's expressed desire to "eat him up" and the Eve-from-Adam story, as if to say "I only do this in self-defence". But neither the alibi nor the crime was permitted by his superego and later, out of fear of retaliation, he tried to deny *he* was the 'criminal', or that if he were guilty, everybody else was, too (the group).

On the Oedipal level, the "putrid woman" theme served to make the incestuous mother as unattractive as possible, while his hostility to her was a pious denial that she was desirable in the first place.

The dream-murderer, of course, was the "round-shouldered" patient. Here again the "fake Jew" theme of the earlier dream (deceptive pig) was repeated in his attempt to disassociate himself from the 'crime' while committing it. It was the "fake Jew" who pretended to "read from the Torah" while he devoured his mother. Since eating was hinged to sexual desire, the oral sadistic denial of incest becomes clear.

The basic Oedipal motivation behind this self-protection, however, was established in his association to the Egyptian first-born sons who were visited by the Angel of Death, and by the ritual killing of Gentiles (fake Jews) at Passover. In

short, he, too, would be killed unless he hewed to the orthodox Jewish line. Since it was only when the Jews "who reverted to the worship of the Golden Calf" circumcised themselves and burned their foreskins in the desert that Yahweh forgave them, orthodoxy really meant circumcision and submission to the father.

If we return to the projection of his hostilities, this time directed against the Oedipal father, the eating of the body-Torah was descriptive of the delayed burial and eating of the totem father. These impulses were partially satisfied but here again the dreamer retreated from the threat that he would be eaten (destroyed sexually) by the retaliating elders.

The Bull-Fight as a Religious Ritual

by

William H. Desmonde, Ph.D.

FREUD and Reik have demonstrated that many of our modern rituals, such as the Catholic wafer sacrament, are compulsive survivals of the primal killing and eating of the father. We will now attempt to show that the bull-fight, a particularly bloody and brutal game, is also traceable to the original parricide.

It is well-known that Greek tragedy originated in a religious ceremony in which a bull was killed and eaten.

"... a great procession is led forth The Bull is sacrificed, and why? Why must a thing so holy die? . . . He dies because he is so holy, that he may give his holiness, his strength, his life, just at the moment it is holiest, to his people."*

In commenting upon the animal sacrifice as the origin of Greek tragedy, Freud wrote:

"But why did the hero of the tragedy have to suffer, and what was the meaning of his 'tragic' guilt. . . He had to suffer because he was the primal father, the hero of that primordial tragedy . . . and the tragic guilt is the guilt which he had to take upon himself in order to free the chorus of their's."**

We are therefore interested when Ernest Hemingway writes:

"The bullfight is not a sport in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word. . . . Rather it is a **tragedy**; the death of the bull, which is played, more or less well, by the bull and the man involved and in which there is danger for the man but certain death for the animal."***

Explicitly comparing the ritualistic bull sacrifice of antiquity with the totem feast described by St. Nilus, Jane Harrison cites Firnieus' description of the Cretan Dionysiac festival, from which the Greek rite was derived:

"They tear in pieces a live bull with their teeth, and by howling with discordant shouts through the secret places of the woods they simulate the madness of an enraged mind."****

The animal sacrifice was practiced up to at least the eighth century, A.D., and totemic practices persisted in Spain during the fourth century. We will show that the bull-fight is a survival of the totem-feast, and that the bull, as the sacrificial victim, is both god and man, a symbol both of the father and his rebellious son.

Thus, the matador would represent the leader of the brother-horde, while his *cuadrilla*, or company, consisting usually of two picadors, three or four banderillas, and the puntillero, would constitute the other sons who have banded together for the parricide.

The Bull-Fight

Frequently, in modern Spain, bull-fights are spontaneously staged in provincial towns; the bull is released in a public square, and killed. Hemingway describes one such impromptu fight:

"... every one swarming on him at once with knives, daggers, butcher knives and rocks; a man perhaps between his horns, being swung up and down, another flying through the air, surely several holding his tail, a swarm of choppers, thrusters, and stabbers pushing

*"Ancient Art and Ritual," by Jane Harrison, Oxford University Press, New York, 1948, p. 88.

***"Totem and Tabu," p. 926. (Modern Library edition)

****"Death in the Afternoon." Scribner's, New York, 1932, p. 16. (my italics)

*****"Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion," Cambridge Univ. Press, 3rd Edition, 1922. p. 484.

into him, laying on him, or cutting up at him until he sways and goes down."^{*}

In one such provincial bull-fight, the bull got out of hand, killing sixteen people, and wounding sixty. Whereupon the following episode occurred:

"One of those he had killed was a gypsy boy of about fourteen. Afterwards the boy's brother and sister followed the bull around hoping perhaps to have a chance to assassinate him. . . That was difficult since . . . the bull was carefully taken care of . . . the bull's owner decided to send him to the slaughterhouse in Valencia. . . The two gypsies were at the slaughterhouse and the young man asked permission, since the bull had killed his brother, to kill the bull. This was granted and he started in by digging out both the bull's eyes while the bull was in his cage, and spitting carefully into the sockets, then after killing him by severing the spinal marrow . . . he asked permission to cut off the bull's testicles, which being granted, he and his sister built a small fire at the edge of the dusty street outside the slaughterhouse, and roasted the two glands on sticks and when they were done, ate them."^{**}

Other statements by Hemingway also indicate that the bull constitutes a father image. For example:

"It is a strange feeling to have an animal come toward you consciously seeking to kill you, his eyes open looking at you, and see the oncoming of the lowered horn that he intends to kill you with. . . ."^{***}

The bull-fight itself is conducted according to a rigidly prescribed set of ceremonials, suggesting an origin in religious rites.

There are three parts to the bull-fight, in each of which the bull is confronted by different members of the company. First appear the picadors, men on horseback, armed with pikes. The blade on the end of these lances is too short to reach the heart of the bull, and therefore the picadors can only succeed in wounding and torturing him. When throwing their pikes into the bull, the picadors must approach him closely, and at this moment horses are frequently severely gored. Sometimes several horses will be killed before this

^{*}Op. cit., p. 24.

^{**}Op. cit., p. 24. (my italics)

^{***}Op. cit., p. 24.

part of the performance has ended. The condition of the wounded horses is appalling; before collapsing, they may run about for a while, with their entrails spilling out over the ground.

After the bull has been wounded by the picadors, the banderillos set to work, enticing the bull round and round the ring, tiring him out, and throwing three foot shafts into his neck and back. These darts, equipped with harpoon points, remain sticking into the animal's flesh. Finally, as a roar goes up from the huge audience, the matador enters the ring.

Saluting as they appear, the matador and his company proceed according to strict regulations. The matador must ask permission to kill the bull, whereupon the president toasts its death. The matador, whom we are regarding here as the leader of the brother-horde, must kill the bull in as dangerous a manner as possible. He runs a considerable personal risk, and it is common for him to be killed or badly maimed. The matador enrages the bull by waving a red cloth in front of the animal; when it charges, the killer steps aside adroitly, letting the bull strike the cape.

The matador must observe the code in the smallest details. He must kneel to ask permission to kill the bull. When he throws his hat, he must toss it, not from in front, but from behind himself, under his left arm; if he throws the hat to any particular person, this signifies that the matador is dedicating the death of the bull to that individual. The matador accepts applause with his two swords crossed before him, lifting and lowering them as though in salute; if he does not kill according to the ritual, he is immediately hissed by the crowd.

The puntillero does not always enter the ring; he does so only when the matador has not completely killed the bull. Even the most skillful swordsman will occasionally miss his stroke, and it would be beneath his dignity to repeat it.*

Commenting on the bull-fight, Havelock Ellis says:

"Gorgeous ceremony, elaborate ritual, solemnly accepted, we are

just as much in the presence of here, as when we witnessed the Archbishop consecrating the holy oil or washing the feet of the thirteen old men. The whole process by which the death of the bull is compassed is *nothing but an elaborate ritual . . .* in both cases, ceremony, and a poignantly emotional background, furnish the deepest element of fascination. The bull fight is Spanish, and appeals to the Spaniards, *quite as much because it is a sacred ritual as because it is a sport.*"** (my italics)

Other writers, too, have been impressed with the ritualistic air surrounding the bull-fight. For example, Richard Harding Davis remarks:

"Nor is there another game conducted with such great regard for ceremony and etiquette, for tradition, and questions of precedence. To-day certain customs obtain in bull-fighting which can be traced back 500 years . . ."***

The Bull in Ancient Religion

The ritualistic killing and eating of a sacred bull played an essential part in the religions of classical antiquity, particularly in Greece. The animal sacrifice, as a repetition of the primal crime, is over-determined, simultaneously representing the killing of the father and a sacrifice of the son to obtain absolution.

The bull was deified in all of the ancient civilizations, being held as sacred in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Crete, Greece, and India. Even the Hebrew Jahveh was sometimes worshipped as a bull. Lack of space prevents a detailed consideration of this material.*

*My description of the bull-fight is drawn mainly from: "The Gentle Art of Bull-Fighting," by R. H. Davis, Scribner's, Dec., 1902; and "The Bull Ring," The English Illustrated Magazine, May, 1910.

**"The Soul of Spain," Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1923. p. 348.

***Op. cit., p. 642.

*See, for example: "The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Scribners, New York, 1916, pp. 887-890; "The Survival of Animal Sacrifices inside the Christian Church," by F. C. Conybeare, in "The American Journal of Theology," Vol. VII, 1905, p. 81; "Ritual: Psychoanalytic Studies," by Theodore Reik, Farrar, Strauss & Co., New York, 1946, p. 85; "The Golden Bough," by J. G. Frazer, Macmillan, 1923; or "Der Gott auf dem Stier," by Halil Demircioglu, Triltsch & Ruther, Berlin, 1939.

Dionysius, who, as a phallic god, was worshipped in Cretan ritual as a bull, is of particular interest. The myth runs that Zeus, in the form of a serpent (phallus) visited Persephone, who bore him Dionysius, a horned infant. Scarcely was he born when he began to mimic his father by brandishing the lightning in his tiny hand, thus assuming this parent's prerogatives. Attacked by the Titans, he evaded them by turning into various forms, becoming temporarily Zeus, then Chronos, a young man, a lion, a horse, and a serpent. He was finally knived to death in the form of a bull.

"A feature in the mythical character of Dionysius . . . is that he was often conceived and represented in animal shape, especially in the form, or at least with the horns, of a bull. Thus he is spoken of as 'cowborn,' 'bull,' 'bull-shaped,' 'bull-faced,' 'bull-browed,' 'bull-horned,' 'horn-bearing,' 'two-horned,' 'horned.' He was believed to appear, at least occasionally, as a bull. His images were often, as at Cyzicus, made in bull shape, or with bull horns; and he was painted with horns."^{***}

The identification of Dionysius with the bull, and the fact that Greek tragedy historically arose from the killing of a bull ritually, is thus in agreement with our hypothesis that the modern bull-fight, as a tragedy, is a commemoration of the primal crime.

" . . . the Cretans, when they acted the sufferings and death of Dionysius, tore a live bull to pieces with their teeth. Indeed, the rending and devouring of live bulls and calves appear to have been a regular feature of the Dionysiac rites. When we consider the practice of portraying the god as a bull or with some of the features of the animal, the belief that he appeared in bull form to his worshippers at the sacred rites, and the legend that in bull form he had been torn to pieces, we cannot doubt that in rending and devouring a live bull at his festival the worshippers of Dionysus believed themselves to be killing the god, eating his flesh, and drinking his blood."^{*}

A great number of other bull rituals of a similar nature could easily be cited, such as the Athenian bouphonia, or ox-murder, in which holy bulls were ceremonially sacrificed.

^{***}"The Golden Bough," by J. G. Frazer, Part V. Vol. I, Macmillan, 1925, p. 16.

^{*}*Ibid.*, p. 17. (my italics)

The Mithraic Religion

The worshippers of Attis were closely associated with the Mithraic cult. According to the myth, Attis was the consort of Cybele, a fertility goddess, who had her home in Phrygia. In one account of the death of Attis, he was killed by a boar, and in the second myth he castrated himself under a pine tree. The pine tree (phallus) became the symbol of Attis, and the followers of Cybele, called the priests of Galli, voluntarily castrated themselves in spectacular rites.

An interesting ceremony belonging to the Attic cult was later adopted in a widespread manner by Mithraism. In this ritual, carried out on the Vatican Hill, either at or near the present site of St. Peter's, the devotee was crowned with gold and wreathed with fillets. He descended into a pit, the top of which was covered by a wooden grating. A bull decorated with flowers and gold leaf was driven on top of the grating, and was there gashed to death with a sacred spear. The hot, reeking blood of the animal poured down upon the worshipper, who let it drench his body completely. He emerged from the pit to receive the adoration and homage of the worshippers, as one who had been purified by the washing away of his sins. Frazer informs us that the testicles of the bull played an important part in this ceremony.

Dating back to prehistoric times, the Mithraic religion began to penetrate into Rome, via Persia, at about the end of the first century. According to Cumont, Persian Mithraism originated in India.* Indeed, even today, the bull is sacred in India. Ptoleamus says that Mithra, the son of the sun, was worshipped in all the countries stretching from India to Assyria.

It was during the Macedonian conquest that Mithraism received its more or less definitive form. In Babylon, the Magi, the official clergy, contributed considerably to a fusion of the Semitic Baals with Mithra. Mithraism was spread

*Franz Cumont: "The Mysteries of Mithra," Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Co., 1903.

mainly by Roman soldiers, who disseminated the cult in their numerous stations throughout the vast empire.

Radiating out over the entire Roman state, Mithraism was practiced in many far-off corners of the world. Vestiges of this cult have been found as far north as Boulogne, once a headquarters of the Roman fleet. A castration instrument, brought to Britain by Roman priests, probably belonging to the cult of Attis, has been found in the Thames River. The spread of Mithraism was facilitated by the enormous number of slaves which were brought to Rome. Frequently worshippers of Mithra, these slaves were placed into the Roman bureaucracy, sent to the outposts of the empire, and sometimes installed in positions of great power.

Mithraism was formally established as an official Roman religion at about the end of the second century. Cumont relates that in 307 A.D. Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinus together dedicated a temple to Mithra. Popular among the soldiers, Mithraism possessed an elaborate theology and mythology, as well as numerous complex ceremonials. The following is the tale of one of Mithra's great mythological adventures:

"The redoubtable bull was grazing in a pasture on the mountain-side; the hero, resorting to a bold stratagem, seized it by the horns and succeeded in mounting it. The infuriated quadruped, breaking into a gallop, struggled in vain to free itself from its rider; the latter, although unseated by the bull's mad rush, never for a moment relaxed his hold; he suffered himself to be dragged along, suspended from the horns of the animal, which, finally exhausted by its efforts, was forced to surrender. Its conqueror then seizing it by its hind hoofs, dragged it backwards over a road strewn with obstacles into the cave which served as his home.

"This painful journey . . . of Mithra became the symbol of human sufferings. But the bull, it would appear, succeeded in making its escape from its prison, and roamed again at large over the mountain pastures. The Sun then sent the raven, his messenger, to carry to his ally the command to slay the fugitive. Mithra received this cruel mission much against his will, but submitting to the decree of Heaven he pursued the truant beast with his agile dog, succeeded in overtaking it just at the moment when it was taking refuge in the cave which it had quitted, and seizing it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other

he plunged deep into its flank his hunting knife.

"Then came an extraordinary prodigy to pass. From the body of the moribund victim sprang all the useful herbs and plants that cover the earth with their verdure. From the spinal cord of the animal sprang the wheat that gives us our bread, and from its blood the vine that produces the sacred drink of the mysteries. In vain did the Evil Spirit launch forth his unclean demons against the anguish-wrung animal, in order to poison in it the very sources of life; the scorpion, the ant, the serpent strove in vain to consume the genital parts and to drink the blood of the prolific quadruped; but they were powerless to impede the miracle that was enacting. . . . Thus, through the sacrifice which he had so resignedly undertaken, the tauroctonus hero became the creator of all the beneficent beings on earth. . . ."

That the bull in this ancient bull-fight is a father-image seems evident in that the bull is regarded as a creator of earthly beings. This is more apparent in the Mithraic theology, in which an eternal struggle between good and evil is under continual process. On the judgment day, a marvellous bull will descend to earth, and Mithra will awaken all men to life. Everyone thus re-awakened will assemble, at which time the god of truth will sacrifice the divine bull; mixing its fat with consecrated wine, the just will drink this liquid, thus attaining immortality.

In the large number of pictorial representations of the cult which modern archaeology has found, Mithra is always depicted slaying the bull. Furthermore, the Mithraic rituals invariably included such a slaughter. Extending over the entire Roman empire, the rituals of the Mithraic religion were performed in underground grottoes called "taurobolia." The ceremonies in the taurobolium consisted of the bull sacrifice previously described; by bathing in the blood of the bull, it was believed that an individual was purified. And by taking the blood into his body, the devotee acquired the strength of the bull. (The members of the brother-horde, we will remember, ate the body of their father for similar reasons.)

Cumont's work contains several bas-reliefs recovered

*Ibid., p. 132.

from taurobolia. The following typifies the usual imagery:

"After an ardent pursuit, the god captures the bull, which has fallen to earth; with one knee on its croup, and his foot on one of its hoofs, he bears down upon it, pressing it against the earth; and grasping it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunges a knife into its flank. The impetuosity of this animated scene throws into high relief the agility and strength of the invincible hero. On the other hand, the suffering of the moribund victim gasping its last, with its limbs contracted in the spasm of death, **the singular mixture of exaltation and remorse depicted on the countenance of the slayer**, give prominence to the pathetic side of this sacred drama"

Mithra's ambivalent attitude in killing the bull suggests again that in this adventure he is stabbing a father-image, thereby repeating the primal crime.

Mithraism, at the zenith of its power, at about the middle of the third century, almost became a world religion. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity, however, was a severe blow to the rival cult. Julian the Apostate made one last attempt to reinstate Mithraism, but after his death Christianity became the victor. The Roman government eventually legislated officially against worship of Mithra. Intense popular uprisings against the Mithraic religion occurred in the provinces, and the mithraeums were sacked and burned. The devastating violence with which Mithraism was obliterated reached fanatical heights. Hope of restoration lingered for many years in Rome, particularly among the aristocracy, but the advent of Theodosius in 394 A. D. shattered the very last hope of a revival of this cult. A few clandestine subterranean taurobolia persisted for a short time afterwards, and rituals were held in the underground recesses of the palaces.

Mithraism and Christianity

When Mithraism was finally defeated, many of its rituals and myths were incorporated into Christianity. Therefore, if the modern bull-fight is a survival of the Mithraic religion, it may well be one of those many aspects of the worship of Mithra which were fused into Christianity. It is instructive

*Ibid., p. 210. (my italics)

to note the similarity between both cults.

"The struggle between the two rival religions was the more stubborn as their characters were the more alike. The adepts of both formed secret conventicles, closely united, the members of which gave themselves the name of 'Brothers.' The rites which they practiced offered numerous analogies. The sectaries of the Persian god, like the Christians, purified themselves by baptism; received, by a species of confirmation, the power necessary to combat the spirits of evil; and expected from a Lord's Supper salvation of body and soul. Like the latter, they also held Sunday sacred, and celebrated the birth of the Sun on the 25th of December, the same day on which Christmas has been celebrated, since the fourth century at least. . . . They both admitted the existence of a Heaven inhabited by beaetified ones, situated in the upper regions, and of a Hell peopled by demons, situated in the bowels of the earth. They both placed a Flood at the beginning of history"

The ceremony of the taurobolium, practiced in Asia from time immemorial, bears a strong resemblance to the Catholic ceremony of eating the wafer, thereby partaking of the blood of Jesus Christ, and acquiring a renovation of the soul.

The Mithraic sacrifice of the bull, the cutting off of its testicles, and the bathing in its blood therefore lend themselves to the same interpretation as the Catholic wafer sacrament: The bull at the same time represents the hated father and the son who is sacrificed as expiation for the parricide. The bathing of the novitiate in the blood of the dying god is a survival of the totem feast, in which the brothers emphasized their community by ingesting part of the god's body.

Pagan Survivals

The supplanting of Mithaism was by no means a quick, easy process, even after Christianity had been adopted as the official Roman religion.

Missionary work against heathenism in general would continue for over a thousand years. As late as 1583, phallic May-pole dances occurred in England. Such sexual practices attest to the enormous obstacles, in the form of ineradicable natural instincts, which hindered the missionary work of the

*Ibid., p. 190.

Christians, and demonstrate the innumerable pagan rites which continued long after Christianity had been ostensibly adopted. Frazer remarks:

"Taken altogether, the coincidences of the Christian with the heathen festivals are too close and too numerous to be accidental. They mark the compromise which the Church in its hour of triumph was compelled to make with its vanquished yet still dangerous rivals. . . . If such faiths were to be nominally accepted by whole nations or even by the world, it was essential that they should first be modified or transformed so as to accord in some measure with the prejudices, the passions, the superstitions of the vulgar."*

The history of the Catholic Church attests to the innumerable compromises which were necessary to extend the power of the papacy.

Christmas was originally the birthday of Mithra, who, as sun god, was believed to have been born on the twenty-fifth of December, the winter solstice. The Virgin who conceived and bore a son on this date was originally Astarte, a Semitic goddess. Easter is a survival of the Roman festival celebrating the death and resurrection of the god Attis. Thus, the two most important holidays in western culture are Mithraic survivals; it is therefore at least plausible that the bull-fight also constitutes such a survival.

John M. Robertson asserts that the grave of St. Peter himself was located on the Vatican Mount because this was the Roman site of Mithraism. The chair of St. Peter is merely the chair of the *Pater Patrum*, the supreme pontiff of Mithra at Rome. According to this writer, the Mithraic *Pater* was transformed into the Christian pope after the death of Julian the Apostate.*

The question arises: What was the historical fate of the innumerable worshippers of Mithra, scattered over the vast Roman empire, when Christianity became victorious? A religion possessing such enormous power could not have disappeared without leaving many survivals. It is not possible

*Op. cit., Part IV, Vol. I, p. 311.

**"Pagan Christs," Watts & Co., London, 1911, p. 336.

that the bull-fight was originally a Mithraic ritual, later amalgamated into Christianity?

Ancient Bull-Fights

Various games featuring the bull took place as far back as 1200 B. C.

In ancient Egypt, the shrine of the bull-god Apis stood next to the temple of Ptah, at which bulls, bred for the occasion, were pitted against one another, a prize being given to the winning animal. This was not a mere exhibition, but a magical or religious ritual. In an Egyptian relief now in the Louvre, a bull is seen goring a man who lies on the ground, while another huntsman appears to have been tossed by the bull.

One of the frescoes discovered by Schliemann in the citadel of Tiryns depicts a bull galloping with a man balancing on his back. On some Greek coins from Catana there is shown a man-headed bull with a remarkably identical acrobatic figure on his back.

The bull played an enormously important part in Mycenaean culture.

"The prominence of the bull in Mycenaean civilization is indicated by the number of large bull's heads full of life and power which have been found in different parts of the Mycenaean world. Added to these larger representations . . . are almost innumerable small terra-cotta figures of bulls in relief on different objects, and of bull's heads used as parts of ornaments."**

On a Mycenaean stucco there is a painting of two galloping bulls, on the back of one of which a boy is shown doing a somersault. Female performers are also depicted; one of these stands between the horns of a charging bull.

"A fine example of the bull-game . . . is that of one band of decorations on the famous boxer vase found at Hagia Triada in south Crete. There are two mighty bulls galloping to the left and on the

**Ella Bourne: "Ancient Bull Fights," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. V, 1917, p. 142. The above account of bull-games is drawn from Bourne's work, as well as from W. Crooke's "Bull-baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights," *Folklore*, June, 1917.

horns of one of them is a man. Some think that he is accomplishing a successful gymnastic feat, but it seems more probable that he has been gored and tossed to this position. The presence of this scene in the midst of the boxing contests of the other bands of decoration on the vase seems to prove that it does not concern wild bulls but is a scene from the arena."^{*}

The bull, as a sacred animal, was offered to the Mother goddess in Minoan sacrificial rites. Crooke doubts whether the bull, as a holy animal, would have been used merely for obtaining amusement. Dr. A. B. Cook's theory is, briefly, that the bull-games were held in the arena, which he calls a labyrinth, and that they were religious rites connected with the bull-god, who represented the sun.

Pliny and Suetonius describe Thessalian bull-games during the fifth century, B.C. Men on horses chased bulls until they were tired, then leaped upon them, and dragged them to the ground by their horns. Attaining considerable popularity, this sport continued for hundreds of years. By the first century, B. C.:

"It had by this time at least become a regular spectacle for the circus, sometimes given by itself, but more often in connection with other contests, as both religious and secular occasions."^{**}

In an inscription found at Caryanda, near Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, dated from either the first or second century, B. C., an honorary record is given of a man who presided over bull-games. Other evidence is also available for the existence of bull-games in Smyrna.

Accounts from Greece and the coasts of Eastern Mediterranean indicate that a form of bull-baiting, or the seizure and carrying away of victims, constituted a preliminary to rites of sacrifice. A form of bull-fight, says Crooke, was held at the Haloa festival in Athens in honor either of Dionysius or Poseidon.

The bull-game was brought from Thessaly to Rome at the time of Caesar, according to Pliny. (It was also from this region that Mithraism spread.)

^{*}Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

^{**}*Ibid.*, p. 147.

Bull-fights were of frequent occurrence in Rome, where wrong-doers were exposed to the attacks of an angry bull.

"The bull, we know, was often baited by having a stuffed figure, called a *pila*, thrown at its head. . . . At other times the bull's anger was aroused by the application of torches, and also by red garments shaken before it, as Ovid says — a usage which has its parallel in the modern Spanish bull-fight."*

"An interesting incident is cited from the third century. . . . A senator, it seems, had been sent into the Roman arena to give the death blow to a large bull. . . . We have here a remarkable similarity to the final act in the bloody drama of a Spanish bull-fight, when the *espada* by a skilful thrust of his sword dispatches the bull."**

Theodosius is said to have put an end to bull-fights at Rome in the last part of the fourth century. It cannot be determined whether or not his decree was immediately effective; there is, however, no record of a Roman bull-fight after this time. It is instructive to note that it was this same Theodosius who shattered all hopes of a Mithraic survival in Rome.

Pagan Survivals in Spain

The bull was an important figure in the mythology of the Iberians, the first inhabitants of Spain. Paintings of animals (bulls, bison, horses, and stags) have been found in the cave of Altamir, dating back from 15 to 20,000 years. At Guisando (Avila), there are four statues of bulls in the center of a field which are traceable to Iberian origin. According to Altamira, the Lusitani sacrificed both animals and humans on their altars, examining their entrails to obtain portents of the future.

Phoenicians and Greeks established colonies in Spain at an early date, no doubt bringing their religious rites and myths with them. In 236 B. C. the Carthaginians began to occupy the entire peninsula, but were shortly afterwards driven out by the Romans, who from then on were masters of Spain. The Visigoths, a Germanic tribe, invaded Spain in 414 A. D., and the destruction of the Western Roman Empire

*Ibid., p. 149.

**Ibid., p. 149.

left them in complete control, except for a brief occupation by Byzantine troops in the sixth century.*

A considerable pagan influence from the Eastern Mediterranean established itself in Spain as a result of the long Roman occupation. Stephen McKenna writes:

"Through centuries of settlement and administration the Romans exerted a tremendous influence upon the religious life of the Peninsula. The religion of Rome was spread throughout Spain by the army veterans and the Italians who settled there beginning with the second century B.C."**

During the first three centuries of this era, the oriental mystery cults entered Spain, the first of which was the religion of Phrygia.

"The principal characteristic of this Phrygian cult was the **tauro-bollum** or **criobollum**, a ceremony which is also found in the religion of Mithra."***

Although Cumont states that Mithraic monuments are almost lacking in the Spanish peninsula, McKenna says that about twenty-five inscriptions to Mithra have been found in Spain.

"The center of his cult appears to have been at Merida where a number of statues to Mithras have been discovered. He was also worshipped at Tarragona, in parts of Baetica, and in the military sections of the northwest. Mithra is usually addressed as **Sol Dominus Invictus**. On an altar to him at Merida are engraved the words, **Ara Genesis Invicti Mithrae**, which probably refer to the birth of the god. The cult of Mithras appears to have been very popular in the middle of the second century A.D. Most of the inscriptions were made by soldiers."****

At Tarragona there is a statue of a priest about to sacrifice a bull. McKenna declares that the oriental cults were mainly popular in the maritime and military cities; no in-

*Rafael Altamira: "A History of Spanish Civilization," Constable & Co., London, 1930.

**"Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom," The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1938. Page 13.

***Ibid., p. 20.

****Ibid., p. 22.

scriptions to these eastern deities have been found in central Spain or in northwestern Lusitania.

The spread of Christianity to Spain was accomplished by means which frequently left the pagan life of the people unchanged. As late as the Moorish invasion in 711, Christianity and paganism were still fighting for supremacy.

"... beneath the formulae of Christianity paganism survived. In the time of Constantine, Spain did not yet possess a Christian Church; the change of religion had been merely an official act which did not closely affect the organization of society."^{*}

Constantine, by refusing to have sacrifices offered in his name, dealt a severe blow to Mithraism, which was closely connected with the emperor worship. The efforts of Constantius, his son, to abolish animal sacrifices was an important factor in the revolt of 361 in Gaul, in which Julian, Constantius' cousin, became emperor. Making a last effort to revive Mithraism, Julian tried to reinstate the practice of the animal sacrifice. Theodosius, who finally defeated the Mithraic cult, and who abolished bull-fighting in Rome, forbade bloody sacrifices under the death penalty. But McKenna writes:

"... while the official pagan cults were easily suppressed, the private practice of paganism offered a stubborn resistance to the progress of Christianity."^{**}

"Spain had been very devoted to the imperial cult and in practically every town of any size there was to be found a priest who presided over the worship of the emperors. In practice, civil and religious functions were inseparable in the pagan Roman administration and Christians could not hold office without coming in contact with the pagan religion as a part of their official duties. . . ."^{***}

The bishops in Spain adopted, out of necessity, an attitude of compromise. The pagan members of the Christian communities were not to be antagonized, and violent persecution of the pagan cult was discouraged. It is instructive to note, however, that the priests devoted their utmost zeal to-

*J. P. de Oliveira Martins: "A History of Iberian Civilization," Oxford University Press, London, 1930, p. 56.

**Op. cit., p. vii.

***Ibid., p. 30.

ward eliminating animal sacrifices. As late as the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, missionaries and church councils were to condemn many Spaniards for pagan rites at fountains and stones.

The Visigothic invasions helped to keep paganism alive; these tribes, however, were not urban peoples; so the cities remained Hispano-Roman in character, and their manner of life was increasingly adopted by the conquerors. Chapman reports that one of the popular diversions of the period seems to have been a form of bull-fighting.*

Paganism was by no means confined to the laity; the clergy itself practiced magic and divination. In 589 a council of bishops enacted laws against abuses in church liturgies and the practices among the people of singing obscene songs and engaging in lewd dances during Church festivals. Totemic customs apparently existed during the closing years of the fourth century.

Unfortunately, there are no records available to trace continuations of paganism in Spain after 711, the date of the Moorish invasion.

Modern Spain

Most writers on Spain emphasize that its geography abetted the perseveration of ancient communities and their customs. Chains of mountains intersect the entire peninsula, and deep rivers foster a tendency to isolation. Havelock Ellis remarks:

"The common belief that Spain is a rigidly conservative country, unchanging and unchangeable, is not without an element of truth. There is a certain tenacity of fibre in the people . . . which makes it easy to recognize in the Spaniard of to-day the Iberian described by Strabo two thousand years ago."**

Thus, natural topography, as well as a cultural trait of backwardness, are present in Spain, factors which would facilitate the carrying-over of ancient customs. The Basques,

*Charles E. Chapman: "A History of Spain," Macmillan, New York, 1931, page 34.

**Op. cit., p. 1.

for example, isolated for centuries near the Pyrenees, still retain in some districts the precedence of the eldest daughter over the sons in inheritance rights.

Havelock Ellis takes particular note of the Spanish love of ritual.

"For the Spaniard . . . ceremonialism is a real and serious thing, extending over the whole of life, not less formal and serious in the bull-ring than it is in the church."^{*}

It was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the burning of heretics was abandoned. Near Haro in Rioja, writes Ellis, there is a brotherhood which practices flagellation until the blood flows. Ford^{**}, writing in 1861, deals at great length with the numerous superstitious practices prevalent in Spain at that time. Religious relics such as charms, medals, bones, and the clothing of saints were widely accepted, and the phallic abjuration of the evil eye was very common. Every province had its own tutelary saint and relic which had jurisdiction over the locality.

The Modern Bull-Fight

There is a good deal of disagreement among historians as to the origin of the Spanish bull-fight. Some writers, such as Havelock Ellis, state that it is traceable to Moorish sources. Others claim it originated in ancient Iberia or was brought to Spain by the Romans. Most historians agree that there are no records of Spanish bull-fights from 711 to 1107, the period extending from the Moorish invasion to the beginnings of the Christian re-conquest of the peninsula. Dowsett, however, states that the Moors held bull-fights in the disintegrating Roman amphitheatres at Merida, Cordova, Tarragona, Toledo, and other cities.^{***}

According to Murray^{****}, the first bull-fight was held

^{*}Op. cit., p. 52.

^{**}Richard Ford: "Gatherings from Spain," John Murray, London, 1861.

^{***}This historical material on the Spanish bull-fight is drawn largely from J. Morewood Dowsett's "The Spanish Bull Ring," John Bale, Sons & Danielson, Ltd., London, 1928.

in Spain in 1107 (Bourne***** places the date at 1040), at Avila, on the marriage of Blasco Muñoz, at which both Moors and Christians participated. The sport was soon popular; however, in the original bull-fight, only knights or members of the upper strata of the feudal society were permitted to take part. The combat was governed strictly by chivalrous punctilio. It is reputed that the Cid fought bulls in the arena prior to the dates cited above.

Numerous attempts have been made to prohibit bull-fights, all unsuccessful. Queen Isabel, Charles III, and Fernando tried to do so, but in vain. From 1516 to 1555, the sport gained considerably in popular appeal, and during the Bourbon dynasty, bull-fighting ceased to be the sport of the nobility. Philip V attempted, without success, to suppress the sport, as did Pope Pius V.

The bull-fight has extended to Mexico, Portugal, Southern France, and, on a few occasions, to Italy. A great bull festival was held in 1332 in Rome at the Coliseum. Fitz-Barnard* says that there were many bull-fights under the popes in Rome; Cesare Borgia is reputed to have fought bulls on the occasion of the marriage of his sister Lucrezia. When Napoleon visited Verona in 1805, a bull-fight was held in the amphitheatre.

The Bull-Fight as a Survival

All writers on the subject agree that the bull fight had its origin in barbaric customs of some sort, although, as has been stated, opinion is divided as to whether this source was Roman, Moorish, or native Iberian. Gomez de Bedoya, writing in 1850, says that the history of Spain completely lacks data on the subject of the origin of the bull-fight.** Bourne says:

"The Spanish bull-fight is at the present day probably as famous as was the old Mycenaean game, or the Thessalian bull-hunt. There

*****"Spanish Bull-Feasts and Bull-Fights," *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXII, London, 1838, pp. 391-6.

*****Op. cit., p. 153.

*Capt. L. Fitz-Barnard: "Fighting Sports," Odhams Press, London, p. 162.

**"Historia del Toreo," Madrid, 1850.

are likenesses among them, even startling likenesses, but so far there is no definite proof of any connection."***

If the bull-fight is, at least to an extent, a Mithraic survival, it might be expected that this sport would be associated with other Spanish religious practices. Ford, writing in 1861, states that bull-fights are generally held on Saint Monday, relating that:

"... the representations... are reserved for the chief festivals of the church and crown, for the unfeigned devotion of the faithful on the holy days of local saints, and the Virgin; they are also given at the marriages and coronations of the sovereign, and thence are called *Fiestas reales*, Royal festivals — the ceremonial being deprived of its religious character, although it is much increased in worldly and imposing importance."

Numerous authorities have favorably commented on the hypothesis that the modern bull-fight originated in ancient bull cults. Among these investigators are Jane Harrison,** A. B. Cook,*** Charles Seltman,**** Talbot Hamlin,***** and W. Crooke.*****

If the bull-fight is indeed a survival of the ancient Mithraic bull-sacrifice, there is ample reason to believe that innumerable people in the course of history would have been very anxious to have obliterated this fact. We noted that the rise of Christianity was marked by fanatical destruction of all traces of Mithraism. In addition, we have seen that the Church went to great extremes to wipe out the religious practice of the animal sacrifice, resorting to the death penalty for this pagan ritual. And, in general, devout believers have always been very reluctant to admit the pagan sources of Christianity.

A final bit of evidence presents itself. The Spanish sport

***Op. cit., p. 153.

*Op. cit., p. 228

**"Themis," Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927, p. 211.

***"Zeus," Cambridge Univ. Press, Vol. I, 1914, p. 497.

****"Greek Coins," Methuen, London, 1933, p. 160.

*****"Architecture through the Ages," Putnam's, New York, 1940, p. 160.

*****Op. cit., p. 161.

*****Op. cit., p. 287.

of killing the bull is called "Fiestas de Toros." But Ford***** says that this term is a very lay and low translation of the Spanish phrase which actually means the "feasts" or "festivals of bulls." This information lends added force to our conjecture that the bull-fight is a survival of the ritual communal meals of antiquity.

Conclusion

We have attempted to verify the hypothesis that the modern bull-fight is a survival of the totem-feast, in which primitive man commemorated the primal crime, by killing and eating the totem animal. We have seen that the bull was very frequently a totem animal in antiquity. We know that popular sports provide outlets for repressed hostility, as well as for intense hero-worship.* The facts of totemism and children's phobias demonstrate the displacement of the attitude toward the father on animals**, and religious history is replete with bull-gods.

We saw that the bull-sacrifice was the central rite in Mithraism, which was extended over the entire Roman empire. There is evidence that the bull-fight was introduced into Spain by the Romans. We may therefore conclude that there is a strong possibility that the Spanish bull-fight is, at least partially, a Mithraic survival, and that we have to a large extent validated our original hypothesis. The question as to why the bull-sacrifice survived only in Spain must remain

*Dr. Renato J. Almansí reports having treated a South American who takes great pleasure in hunting, and who experiences extremely keen excitement in watching bull-fights. This patient produced extensive material pointing to the fact that he identified his father with the bull, as well as to the fact that he identified himself simultaneously with both the toreador and the bull, both of whom he admires because of their courage and strength. The same identification of the father with the bull came out in a dream in which he visited an arena and was frightened by a bull, as well as in numerous other associations.

**Freud mentioned a paranoiac patient who dreamed of being pursued by a powerful bull, from whom he fled in terror. ("Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia, and Homosexuality," *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, page 239.)

open for further research. It is instructive that the eminent Jessie L. Weston regarded the Holy Grail stories as Mithraic survivals:

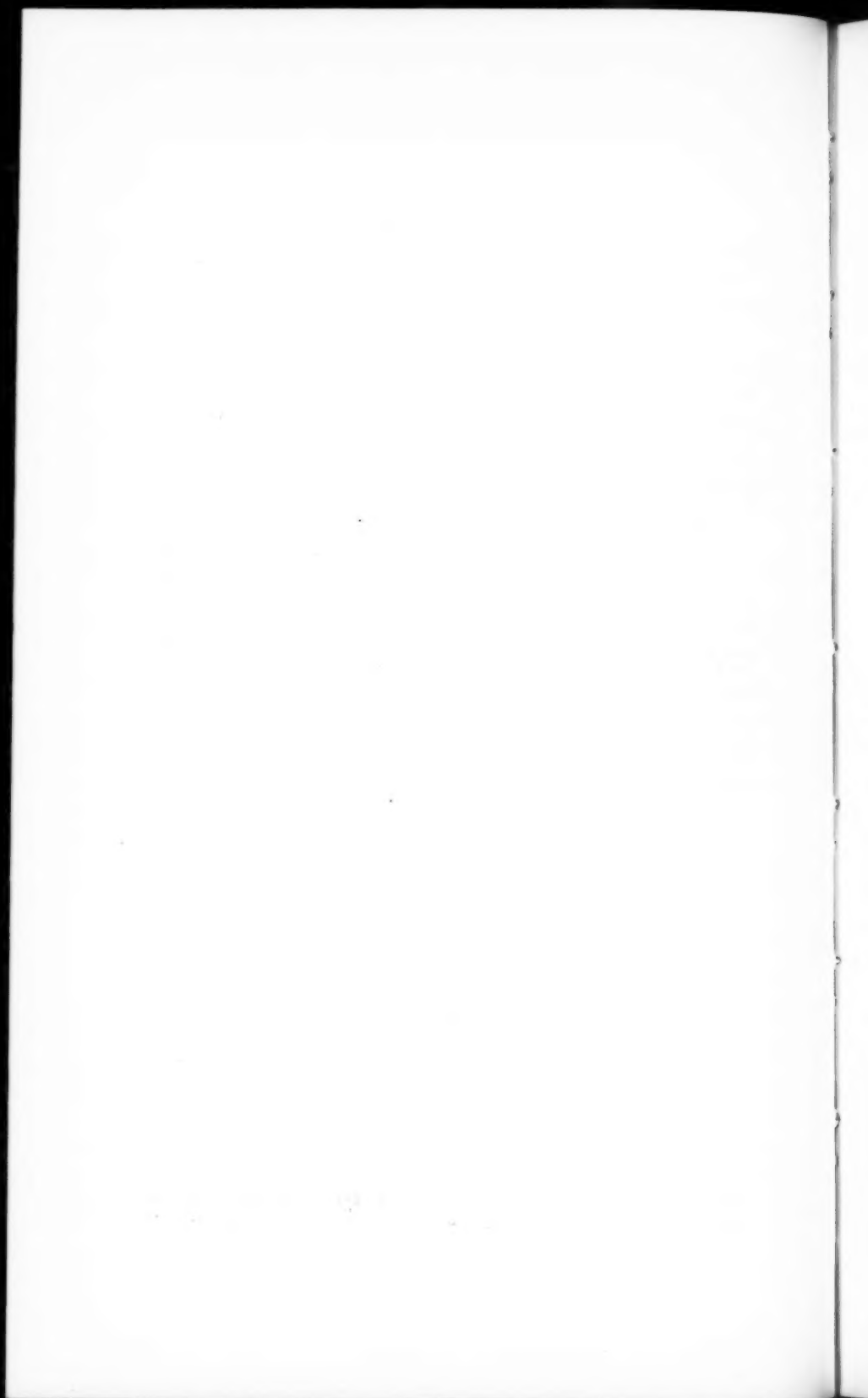
"The Grail romances repose eventually, not upon a poet's imagination, but upon the ruins of an august and ancient ritual, a ritual which once claimed to be the accredited guardian of the deepest secrets of Life. Driven from its high estate by the relentless force of religious evolution — for after all, Adonis, Attis, and their congeners were but the 'half-gods' who must needs yield place when 'the Gods' themselves arrive — it yet lingered on; openly, in Folk practice, in Fast and Feast, whereby the well-being of the land might be assured; secretly, in cave or mountain-fastness . . ."^{***}

We close with Horatio Smith's statement:

"We have seen for how many centuries the Pagan games survived the deities in whose honor they were first instituted. More willing to surrender their antiquated religion than the amusements connected with it, the heathen people could only be won to Christianity by a compromise which enabled them to incorporate with the new faith many of the festivals and pastimes of Paganism. These took other names indeed; they were baptized afresh, and consecrated to saints and martyrs, instead of demigods and heroes; but the multitude cared little about the form and title, provided they got the essence, which, according to their estimation, consisted in the holiday and its festive or processional concomitants."^{*}

^{***}"From Ritual to Romance." Peter Smith, New York, 1941. Page 176.

^{*}"Festivals, Games, and Amusements," Harper, New York, 1833. Page 95.



The Total Personality In Creative Therapy

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Diagnosis and therapy are intrinsically interwoven in Creative Therapy since both are based on the premise of the personality as a totality. Fenichel's (1) words apply to Creative Therapy "it attempts more than mere description. It explains mental phenomena as the result of the interaction and counteraction of forces, that is in a dynamic way".

Creativeness is conceived of as the integrative capacity of the ego (2) as expressed through the medium of art. Art activity is postulated as the direct expression of the conscious, the preconscious and the unconscious. In this paper the total personality will be approached by way of the unconscious drives as manifested directly and immediately in painting.

Creative Therapy uses a non-associative or non-ideational approach and utilizes painting activity literally as a non-verbal mode of expression of all levels of the personality. Since associations are not encouraged and interpretations are not given, the subject matter (content and form) is, in this sense neglected. However, beyond content and form (and thereby including it) a painting is also the immediate expression of the individual's instinctual drive. Creative

Therapy tries to gain insight into these unconscious instinctual forces, by methodically provoked unconscious reactions.

These unconscious reactions are provoked, chiefly, by what the writer calls the "Push-Tests". The technique of push-tests is of necessity different from the technique used in psychoanalysis. But the ultimate goal is the same: to reveal and to re-integrate the total personality. The push-tests have various therapeutic and diagnostic aims. In this paper, however, only the dynamics of developmental reactions are considered for the characterization of the total personality.

Every individual is exposed to certain developmental situations. The push-tests confront the patients with these various situations and provoke their repetition and emotional revival. "Developmental situations" however do not refer here to specific and in this sense to individual situations, experiences or traumata. Developmental situations refer instead to the developmental phylogenetic and ontogenetic "traumata" entailed by the succession of the oral, anal, and phallic organizations. In other words: not the specific "incident" of a situation or trauma is dealt with in the re-activation process of the push-tests, but, instead the trauma of specific "developmentally" determined infantile ego states is being reactivated. The push-tests or obstacle-tests* are experimentally provoked developmental situations and the so-called push-colors or obstacle-colors are deliberate interferences with the patient's habitual reaction pattern.

It will suffice to mention three push-tests. This limitation is determined by lack of space and their selection is determined by their relation to the three phases of infantile development.

The push-tests confront the patients with various developmental situations and provoke their repetition and emotional revival. The description of this provocation is simple, since, in terms of creative therapy, provocation is necessarily limited to color-arrangements. These color-arrangements might seem irrelevant or arbitrary, the emotional reaction

however, is relevant and cogent. The therapeutic and diagnostic as well as the dynamic significance of these color-arrangements will be discussed later.

The first push-test. When the patient is prepared to start his third oil-painting, he is also ready for interference. The therapist places three color-patches on the blank paper. The choice of the push-colors is not arbitrary, but determined by the patient's previous paintings. The patient is then asked to paint whatever he wants to, but is told not to paint over the push-colors.

The second push-test. Here the therapist does not interfere until the pencil sketch for the painting is finished. The push-colors are not placed on the canvas until the patient has planned his painting. The patient is then asked to continue the painting in oil and again without painting over the push-colors.

The third push-test. After the patient has finished the pencil-drawing, that is, the plan for another painting, he is asked to start to paint in oil. However, when about a quarter of the canvas is painted, the therapist interrupts the patient and inserts the push-colors in an unpainted area of the drawing. Again the patient is requested not to paint over the push-colors while he completes his painting.

These three push-tests or obstacle-tests show three different types of interference and by that they create three different and clearly defined developmental situations (oral, anal and phallic). In the beginning of his development the infant experiences, first of all, himself. His narcissistic omnipotence, however, does not free the infant from the necessity to cope with the object world. Actually the object-world starts to intrude upon the infant from the time he draws his first breath so that he is soon forced to give up his feeling of "unconditional omnipotence". (3) In the words of Freud the infant is constantly interfered with by objects and beings who do not obey his will and also by the increasing complexity of his own wishes so that the "omnipotence" of human beings comes to depend on more and more "condi-

tions". (4) In terms of creative therapy the infant's narcissistic omnipotence meets with an increased number of obstacles. The reality-principle demands of the child a progressive libidinal attachment to the object-world—or, as creative therapy defines it: its integration. (2) The experimental situation as created by the therapist in the first push-test is the revival of the first discovery of the child that he is not alone in the world. Before he starts to act he meets with obstacles in life with his environment, in creative therapy with the push-colors.

In the second push-test the therapist does not place the push-colors on the blank canvas. He puts down the push-colors after the patient has completed his pencil-drawing, that is, the push-colors as obstacles emerge only after the patient has defined his plan for the painting. Again this is a repetition of a developmental situation. The child's modest attempts to decide for himself, to plan, are also frequently and necessarily interfered with.

In the third push-test the patient is confronted with the obstacle-colors after he has carried out part of his plan, i.e. integrated one fourth of his painting. Integration is explained elsewhere (2) as psychic energy as the premise for object-relation. In push 1 and 2 the patient meets with interference before he is asked to integrate, i. e., to express his object-relation. In push 3, for the first time the patient is faced with obstacles after he has succeeded in integrating part of his painting. In this developmental situation, which might be compared to the phallic phase, object-relation is successfully expressed within certain limits when once more obstacle-colors necessitate a re-orientation and stimulate a more complete object-relation. The first two push-tests revive developmental situations in which the infant's omnipotence and mastery are challenged while the third push-test reactivates a phase in which the child's object-relations are threatened and, simultaneously, broadened.

The push colors represent various types of obstacles. These obstacles in turn provoke aggression in the patient

and in provoking aggression they stimulate the release of repressed integrative capacity. Aggression is instinctual energy which strives for an outlet but not necessarily an acting out. In creative therapy acting out is barred by the therapist's request to integrate the push-colors i.e. to transform destructive aggression into constructive energy. What is more the choice of the colors is such that they serve as a "push" towards the re-integration of the past developmental situation on a present day adult level. The principle of the push-technique is similar to that of the association technique. Both the associative and the creative "push" stimulate the re-experience of past events and both techniques provoke the release and the reinvestment of repressed instinctual energy.

As mentioned before, in the first push-test the interference by obstacle colors revived a developmental situation on the earliest i.e. on the oral level. There the blank "unlimited" paper stimulates the patient's imagination and phantasy; it also provokes a feeling of absolute freedom and in this sense of omnipotence. Soon however the therapist's interference limits the play of unrestricted phantasy. The patient finds himself confronted by the obstacle colors. A new condition is created in which awareness of the interfering object-world is experienced as a first "reality-situation". Simultaneously phantasy and imagination are challenged to cope with this obstacle i.e. to integrate it. We may say that by the successful integration of the push-colors the obstacles are incorporated into the remaining picture. (We concur with Fenichel who states (5) that "the aim of incorporation of objects does not necessarily reflect a subjective destructive tendency toward the object").

In the following phase the infant has to learn to give up to a great extent his phantasied omnipotence; he has to learn to postpone or to renounce a direct instinctual gratification out of consideration for the environment (6). In exchange the infant acquires some active mastery of the object world and of his own instinctual demands. Phantasy

and imagination as the source of immediate and unconditional wishfulfillment are gradually relinquished and replaced by a feeling of mastery and by the gratification in planning and deciding.

In the second push-test the patient is asked to do a pencil-sketch, i.e. he is stimulated to decide and to plan beforehand. As explained elsewhere (7) the outline sketch is the "pictorial" equivalent of the anal tendency toward orderliness, parsimony and stubbornness. Lack of space does not permit elaboration of this parallel. It must suffice to point out that the outlining of objects limits imagination but on the other hand literally leaves enough space for phantasy to experience the outline as a magic circle within which the creator of the "sign" is all-powerful. In this sense the outline-drawing is also a pictorial equivalent of the magic of thoughts, gestures and words. On an adult level the outline sketch (as any other system) is the result of scientific planning.

In this second push-test the obstacle colors placed within the outline sketch reactivate a developmental situation on the anal level.* The patient is confronted with the recognition that reality often interferes with the execution of his plans. But again the patient is stimulated to overcome these obstacles i.e. to integrate the push-colors. New obstacles arise in the phallic phase. This developmental situation is emotionally revived in the third push-test. A comparative description of this situation can be omitted since the comments on the first two push-tests indicate that all push-tests are dynamically conditioned by the evolutionary development.

There is, of course, only a limited number of obstacle-tests or push-tests but there is an unlimited number of push-colors and countless ways to react to them. As mentioned before the push-colors are not arbitrarily selected but are determined by the patient's first paintings and by the "potentiality tests". The unlimited number of push-colors therefore corresponds to the individually different "integrative po-

tential" which in turn is determined by the individual's inherent capacities and by his environmental experiences. The limited number of push-tests corresponds to the limited number of developmental situations or developmental obstacles. The patient's reactions again to both the obstacle-situations and to the specific obstacle colors indicate his actual present capacity (or actual integrative ego-strength) to cope with a specific reactivated developmental situation.

The transition from one phase to another (and within one phase from one stage to another) is necessarily painful, it represents a developmental hazard, an obstacle and in this sense a "traumatic" experience. The so-called normal adult has succeeded in overcoming the developmental vicissitudes. The neurotic and the psychotic have failed somewhere along the line.

The revival of developmental situations is, I repeat, a diagnostic test and a therapeutic procedure. The patient's reactions indicate what specific developmental situation he has failed in originally and disclose also the patient's actual ego-strength to cope with these reactivated situations on an adult level. Simultaneously the push-colors—which correspond not with the actual but with the potential integrative capacity—stimulate the redevelopment of repressed integrative capacity and thus enable the patient to gradually modify his habitual reaction pattern.

Lack of space does not permit more than this indication of the obstacle- and push-technique. It is sufficient to keep in mind that the developmental situations are intended to represent oral, anal and phallic "obstacles" in our developmental struggle. The patient is expected to identify and to experience (emotionally) the push-tests as obstacles in his habitual, developmental reaction pattern. He is provoked to do so in response to the therapist's interference. This interference again—because of the specific arrangements of the push-experiments—assumes the character of a psychological shock.

Every push-experiment causes psychological shock, sim-

ilar to emotional shocks provoked by interpretations, comments, dreams and associations in the course of psychoanalysis. Irrespective of whether or not we assume that shock is nature's first and most significant emotion or whether we consider it characteristic only of traumatic situations, shock is an emotional force in development; it is emotional energy too, in a way. Shock releases certain developmental changes by intensification of actions and/or by provocation of reactions. Shock through push-tests provokes and intensifies the patient's aggression. This aggressive reaction is however rarely acted out since the patient is prepared to act in and through painting by "color integration". (2)

Color-integration is explained to the patient before he starts creative therapy. Color-integration is demonstrated as a pure emotional process, as an unconsciously determined interrelation of elements. It is emphasized that color- or element-integration is not synonymous with gestalt-integration and is not based on the individual's intellectual or esthetic approach to the subject-matter, and, obviously not on form, content, composition, color-harmony, etc., etc. Instead, element-integration is repeatedly pointed out to the patient as the unconscious expression of the personality's emotional integration. Element-integration is explained as the expression of psychic energy. The patient realizes that he is not asked to merely integrate a painting, but that in doing so his (repressed) integrative capacity as such will be mobilized. The patient is made aware that in this sense color-integration is the expression of his ego-strength. Later the patient learns to grasp that element-integration can be carried through on a higher or lower level, i. e. the patient learns to experience that integration discloses ego-strength on different levels. The very young child, for instance, is unable as yet to integrate the object-world, i.e. to invest reality with feeling and significance. The psychotic is regressed to a level where the environment becomes meaningless in spite of its objective existence. The neurotic again has repressed his capacity to relate with reality and in this sense to form true

object-relations. The patient learns ultimately to utilize his integrative ego-strength (limited as it may be as in the case of schizophrenics) and to develop his actual integrative capacity to its highest potential level.

In this writing no explanation of element-integration is intended. Element-integration has been referred to only to indicate that the developmental character of the push-tests is, by no means, separable from the emotional problem of integrative ego-strength.

As mentioned before, there is a complete series of various push-tests, which by their selection and developmental totality aim at the reintegration of the patient's total personality on its own integrative level. The unconscious reaction to each developmental situation is determined by the patient's integrative ability to cope with the therapeutic situation on an adult level. How far he succeeds in his attempt to reintegrate his reaction-pattern—better in one push-test, less successful in another, or differently at different times—is expressed by the integrative levels. A graph, the integration-curve, registers the reactions of the patients and indicates thereby progress or stalemate in therapy.

We subscribe to the definition "that personality is largely the resultant of the interaction of the instincts and the environment". (8) Both instincts and environmental influences are expressed immediately in a painting, and naturally they are expressed simultaneously. For the sake of brevity no explanation could be given how the environment is manifested in a painting, nor could it be indicated what exactly replaces the significance of content and form. More specifically no indication could be given to what degree and by what means individual experiences and traumata are taken into consideration.

In this paper the reactivation of evolutionary development was referred to as a revival of the trauma of development. In other words the phylogenetic and ontogenetic succession of the oral, anal and phallic organizations was conceived as a succession of traumatic situations. It was

proposed that the patient's reactions to the revival of developmental situations—as reenacted in the push- or obstacle-tests—indicate his ego strength. The painting was considered as a screen on which the unconscious became conscious and which reflected the patient's total personality directly and immediately. Every essential disturbance of the personality can be traced back to a disturbance in the patient's evolutionary development (regression or arrest of the evolutionary drive). Simultaneously, this disturbance presupposes and shows repression or insufficiency of the patient's integrative capacity, the weakening or the weakness of his ego.

Development can not be turned back for therapeutic reasons and its mere revival is therapeutically meaningless. Indeed, the reactivation of developmental situations alone would reactive only the patient's habitual reaction-pattern. For this reason the double function of the interfering colors was emphasized by their description as both obstacle-and push-colors. We find a similar situation in psychoanalysis. Catharsis in its narrow original sense is no longer considered as the sum total of the therapeutic approach. Although psychoanalysis continues to reactivate traumatic memories and complexes, the emphasis is on "insight" and the realization of the "transference" of the past experiences on present-day situations. Concurrently with the revival of repressed emotions, repressed energy is released and by that a strengthening of the personality is achieved. With the reactivation of the developmental situations, past developmental obstacles are revived on a present-day level. Simultaneously the "push"-colors release and stimulate repressed integrative energy which enables the patient to re-integrate these past obstacles. Reintegration of the past in the present reestablishes once more developmental totality. The therapeutic aim therefore is to reintegrate the evolutionary drive through full utilization of the potential integrative ego-strength.

In this paper, the dynamic interaction of only two con-

stituents of the total personality was discussed: the evolutionary drive (as reactivated in the developmental situations) and the integrative drive (as an expression of ego-strength). The third constituent of the total personality finds its expression in creative therapy in the manifestations of the bipolarity drive. (9) and (10) It goes without saying that in the patient's reactions to the developmental situations his bipolar or ambivalent tendencies also become evident: either as compatible or as incompatible opposites or as bipolar tendencies which are accessible to compromise (normal, psychotic and neurotic reactions respectively).

We may propose therefore that the patient's unconscious reaction pattern as provoked by the push-tests and his varying integrative responses are expressive of his total personality. It should be emphasized that a single painting is never considered as a diagnostic criterion; the diagnostic and prognostic data are derived from the developmental interrelation of quite a number of paintings. Every change in the patient's reaction pattern is observed for therapeutic as well as diagnostic reasons. The integrative responses may be excellent to any one or to some of the various push-tests; they may be poor or indifferent to others. These differences in the integrative responses indicate the personality's conflict. The specific conflicts are further explored by the self-push tests, the repetition of push-tests and various other tests and "projects".

Validity of the Total Personality Tests

During the past eight years, the creative therapy findings concerning the developmental situations were compared with the clinical observations presented by the staff psychiatrists in weekly conferences held at the Hillside Hospital. (11) This comparison of the conclusions derived in creative therapy with clinical material indicated a striking correlation in most cases between the concept of developmental situations and the psychanalytic concept of ego development.

In a number of cases the findings in creative therapy actually anticipated the clinical manifestations. Wherever

it was possible, a follow-up study was made which confirmed the conclusions drawn from these Total Personality Tests to such an extent that it is felt justified to claim an essential validity of these concepts.

In a detailed study of five patients which were chosen from a much larger body of material, Kleinschmidt and Miller (12) stated: "All these patients worked in the creative therapy department. Right from the beginning—that is to say, at a time when clinical criteria as well as psychometric tests did not reveal definite signs of schizophrenia—they showed in tests developed by Zierer, an integration curve typical of schizophrenics, and the breaking down of their ability for abstract thinking and conceptual thinking".

In the case of non-hospitalized patients, detailed reports were sent routinely to the treating psychoanalysts. The creative therapy and analytic findings showed a most gratifying concurrence. It should be stressed in this connection that no transference-differences were encountered in the course of the joint application of creative therapy and psychoanalysis or analytically orientated psychotherapy. (13)

With regard to the statistical reliability, it must be emphasized that diagnosis in creative therapy is not based on any single test but on the combined findings of Body-Space-, Bi-Polarity-, Push-Tests' Aggression—and Conflict Tests, Personality-Structure Test and the Integration Curve. However, a statistical evaluation of 2,000 patients tested showed that our diagnostic conclusions drawn from the Body-Space Test (14) alone conformed in 86% of the cases with the clinical discharge diagnosis at the Hillside Hospital. Only after this test has been given does the patient start on his push-tests and bi-polarity tests. It then becomes possible to draw a graph of the patient's integrative capacity and to conform or correct the initial diagnostic impression.

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FOOTNOTES

- Page 1: The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. Edith Zierer for cooperation, critical reading and rewriting of the manuscript.
- Page 2 From the point of view of therapy push-tests represent "stimuli"; they stimulate re-development, they "push" the patient toward a reintegration of his personality. From the point of view of diagnosis we refer to "obstacle tests" since the manner and degree in which the patient reacts to the obstacles is of diagnostic significance.
- Page 7 The "aggression test" and other projects make possible a distinction between the stages within the phases.

Page 8 As mentioned above the choice, combination, size and location of the push—marks is determined by the patient's previous paintings and specifically by the "tension test" which indicates his potential integrative capacity.